THE LITHUANIAN METRICA

History and Research

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Preface

The name "Lithuanian Metrica" refers to the books compiled from copied documents that were issued from or found their way into the chancellery of the Lithuanian grand duke. These books contain privileges granted to state territories (lands, duchies, etc.), the estates, individuals and cities, various acts, the ruler's and other court decrees and other related documentation, material regarding various diplomatic activities (ranging from Sweden to Turkey, from the Vatican to Rus′, the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate Tatars), treasury documents, property inventories of the ruler and nobility, auxiliary chartulary books, and so forth. The oldest documents of the Lithuanian Metrica, the actual archive of the ruler and the state, go back to the times of pagan Lithuania (the treaty of 1367 signed by Grand Duke Algirdas and Duke Kęstutis with Livonia). More documents start to appear from the years 1385–1387; from the political-strategic union with Poland and the baptism of Lithuania, while the latest documents date to the end of the eighteenth century. The development of the Lithuanian Metrica was associated with the documentation of the Lithuanian grand duke's governmental functions—this chartulary was conducted through his chancellery via the activities of state officials subordinate to him, which is why the Lithuanian Metrica is justifiably considered the main archive of the early Lithuanian state. When neighboring Russia, Prussia, and Austria, greedy for new lands, destroyed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772–1795, the Lithuanian Metrica fell into Russian hands. An entry in the Vilnius City book of expenses written on August 11, 1794 tells us how the transportation of the Lithuanian Metrica to Saint Petersburg was organized. On January 9–18, 1795, a sum of 157 złoty was allocated from the Vilnius magistrate to pay for its transportation, plus another twenty groschen as payment to the carpenter for the construction of twenty crates and the blacksmith for producing bindings and nails and encasing the crates, as well as for repairing the door to the *metrykant*'s room. A wagon train from Vilnius made its

way to Riga, from where ships set sail for Saint Petersburg. According to the transfer act, the Senate of the Russian Empire took over 834 books, fourteen files in carton boxes, and sixteen bundles of loose documents. The entire past of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, all of the deeds and secrets of its rulers, grand dukes, and kings, documented since the middle of the fourteenth century, had thus fallen into the hands of its old competitor, enemy, political protector, at times its friend and ally, the tsar of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, later, the emperor of the Russian Empire. The Lithuanian Metrica is currently kept in the State Russian Archive of Early Acts (*Rossiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov*, f. 389) in Moscow. Several books of the Lithuanian Metrica have at some stage ended up in some Polish archives, manuscript collections, libraries, in addition to the few that are in Vilnius.

Documents from the Lithuanian Metrica started being published in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in Vilnius and in Poland from the middle of the eighteenth century. When the Russian Empire, the new imposter feigning to be the master of the destroyed state, opened up these state trophies—the books of the Lithuanian Metrica—at the end of the eighteenth century, the invaluable political, cultural, and scientific treasure it had taken possession of became immediately apparent. After more thorough examination of the material, the Lithuanian Metrica was viewed as an inexhaustible source of historical knowledge that reveals the most consistent and comprehensive digest of the history of Lithuania and Belarus, to a lesser extent, of Ukraine and Poland as well, not to mention the volumes of material on the past of Russia, Prussia, Latvia, and Estonia. In the Russian Empire, research of the Metrica commenced and intensified, the publication of its documents and books occurred on a grander scale. However, the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 brought an end to this scientific activity. The research and publication of the Lithuanian Metrica only attempted to be revived towards the end of the Soviet period, at which stage the then Soviet Institute of History of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and a Lithuanian Statutes and Metrica research group from Vilnius University became involved.

This is the fourth decade of scientific research and publication of the Lithuanian Metrica since 1985 at the Lithuanian Institute of History. May this book about the historic relic of the Lithuanian state mark the anniversary of three decades of Lithuanian scientists' contribution to this important work, which all too often goes by unnoticed in society.

Readers will immediately notice that the text in this book is not constructed according to a historical-chronological order, but follows a

problematic-thematic progression, and that sometimes only guidelines of the research are presented, or questions and issues for future consideration are formulated—the material does not claim the status of perfected, final scientific results. In our view, a scientific text in precisely this format most accurately represents the scale of current issues associated with the research of the Lithuanian Metrica. The fact that less light is shed on the pages from the past of this historical source, and the contradicting opinions of authors on certain questions point to the topics that demand further study in the future, or could perhaps even help formulate questions for more thorough research. For example, the chapter on research and publication is in effect a summary of guidelines for future research, while the role of Simonas Daukantas in the history of the Lithuanian Metrica in the nineteenth century could easily be expanded into a separate scientific study.

Some of the topics that are presented are of an archival research nature, and it could appear as if the book's authors, who are historians, used methods specific to this field too liberally. We trust that in the future, if other specialists take a deeper interest in the fate of the Lithuanian Metrica and other archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, they shall correct the authors' ideas and find answers to many of the questions that remain unanswered or solve problems that are hitherto unresolved. We hope that the differing ways the text appears in the book shall not be a burden to readers, as each author has their own individual style of interpreting and presenting historic material.

The authors of this book sincerely thank the following peer reviewers for closely reading the manuscript of this monograph and for correcting the errors they noticed. We thank Algirdas Baliulis (Vilnius), Rūta Čapaitė (Vilnius), Aleksandr Dounar (Minsk), Aleh Dziarnovich (Minsk), Aliaksandr Hrusha (Minsk), Andrius Jurkevičius (Vilnius), Mindaugas Klovas (Vilnius), Andrei Macuk (Minsk), Sergei Polekhov (Moscow), and Andrei Ryčkov (Vilnius) for their bibliographic assistance. We also thank Aleksei Andronov (Saint Petersburg), the Director of the Lithuanian Art Museum Romualdas Budrys (Vilnius), Klaudijus Driskius (Vilnius), the former Director of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore Mindaugas Kvietkauskas, the Director of the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Sigitas Narbutas (Vilnius), Vika Petrikaitė (Vilnius), the State Archives in Lublin (Poland), and the family of academic Konstantinas Jablonskis for their permission to use important illustrations in this book.

Chapter 1

The Lithuanian Metrica: The Concept, Term, and Archival Characteristics

Anyone that has taken even a slight interest in Lithuania's past will have heard mention of the Lithuanian Metrica. Specific articles can be found in encyclopedias and entries in Lithuanian dictionaries, which present a longer or shorter definition of this concept and the most important related historical facts. But could a history professional, an expert in this field, provide a precise definition in one or two sentences of what the Lithuanian Metrica actually is? Looking through encyclopedia articles and dictionaries, we learn that this is not such an easy task. In some cases, the Lithuanian Metrica is defined as the state archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, elsewhere it is the Duchy's chancellery documents, in other places, it is described as the books of copies of the state chancellery's documents. We might also be caught unawares if asked what the words "Lithuanian Metrica" actually mean, and how they are connected to the mentioned concept's definitions.

It is indeed difficult to concisely explain what the words "Lithuanian Metrica" meant and mean today. We can first of all say that in order to give a simple description of this compound, it must first be divided into two, as the first word "Lithuanian" does not carry the same meaning as we understand it today, while the word "Metrica" is one of those terms whose real meaning might not even be immediately clear to a professional historian without first consulting specialist literature. The word "Metrica," despite sounding very similar to the oft-heard Lithuanian word *metrikai*, that is, birth certificates,

has very little in common (just the same root), and is actually closely related to another now very often used word in Lithuanian, *kanceliarija* (chancellery), whose first meaning is also probably not so well known. The word *kanceliarija* is associated with the Latin word *cancelli*, which refers to the bars of grating or a gate, lattices. Interestingly, the word *kanceliarija* emerged later than *kancleris* (chancellor, or *cancellarius* in Latin, *kanclerz* in Polish). The chancellor initially meant a court notary, later on, the palace scribe or *notarius*, and only started being applied to the chancellery's senior official in the Roman curia in the tenth–eleventh centuries, whose task was to authorize the legitimacy of documents being issued.[1] In time, the chancellor's duties and especially the premises where he performed them started being called the chancellery.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, as the growing number of original documents being prepared in the Lithuanian grand duke's chancellery were being issued to interested parties, copies also started being made and kept for the chancellery's needs. Upon the issue of a particular original document, the ruler's notary would usually keep its copy, which would be given to lower-ranked chancellery officers. When they received the copy, it would be rewritten again into their fascicles (see chapter 2). These fascicles containing copies of separate documents would be placed together into some kind of order, based on the content of the original documents, until a smaller or larger bundle of pages had been assembled. This bundle would sometimes be bound, for convenience, to stop pages from falling out. In the everyday life of the chancellery, this bundle of pages would be called by the originally Slavic word for book, *kniga*. The books of copied documentation in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were first referred to by various, very long descriptions, such as: "the books of his royal grace," "the books of his grace, the ruler," "the chancellery books of his royal grace," "the chancellery books of his grace, the ruler," "the books of the chancellery," and so on (figs. 1, 2).

In the first half of the sixteenth century, as political and cultural links between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland intensified, and as Polish was being used increasingly extensively by the Lithuanian nobility, the mentioned term "chancellery books of his royal grace" that had been used in the daily life of the grand duke's chancellery gradually started being called by a word adopted from Polish, which had medieval Latin origins, *metrica* (the first known use dates to 1528).[2]

1 P. Rabikauskas, *Diplomatica pontificia (Praelectionum lineamenta)* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1994), 10.

2 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, ed. A. Dubonis (Vilnius: Žara, 2002), 75.

The Latin word *matrica*, or *metrica* originates from the word *mater* (mother), whose meaning is quite clear even to someone with no knowledge of Latin, and in medieval chancellery terminology meant a digest of texts written in one place—a certain collection of chancellery documents or their copies. The Latin title of Book 25 in the Book of Inscriptions group of the Lithuanian Metrica[3] gives a good illustration of the real meaning of *metrica*, which can be translated as follows:

> The metrica (collection, digest) of privileges, court decrees, cases, and other various letters issued to the civilians of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by the Most Enlightened kings of Poland and grand dukes of Lithuania, compiled in 1541, the Year of Our Lord, at the behest of our Most Illustrious Ruler, Lady Bona, the Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania, rewritten, checked, and together with an index of all the documents within, bound at the order of the all-powerful Lord Lew Sapieha, Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Administrator of Slonim, Parnu, and Mogilev, etc., etc., during the appointment of Aleksander Korwin Gosiewski, the secretary of his blessed royal highness [Sigismund Vasa] as the chancellery regent by the aforementioned lord [i.e., Lew Sapieha], in the Year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1598.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the chancellery officials of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by now strongly affected by the use of Polish chancellery terminology, when describing the content of documents entered into a specific book, the *metrica* term must have been more accurate and convenient to use than the previous long and complicated definitions, such as "the chancellery books of his grace the ruler", which is why in time, *metrica* stood in for and eventually pushed out the older titles of these books in the daily practice of chancellery officials. The result of this process is best illustrated in the constitution of the 1607 sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the checking of the rewritten books of the Lithuanian Metrica. This constitution begins with the words: "As our chancellery metrica, or books. . . ."[4] At this point it should be added that the use of *metrica* instead of books did not become widespread, as only the "digests" of copies of documents prepared in the ruler's chancellery were called thus, whereas the documentation of other institutions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the castle, land, and Magdeburg city courts, and so forth) continued to be referred to as "the books."

3 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 25 (1387–1546). Užrašymų knyga 25*, ed. D. Antanavičius and A. Baliulis (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1998), 17.

4 *Volumina Legum*, vol. 2, no. 2 (St Petersburg: J. Ohryzka, 1859), 449.

The word "book" has a very well-defined meaning in numerous languages, and basically lacks any abstract meanings. The meaning of the word *metrica*, being a loan word, became increasingly more abstract. In the second half of the sixteenth century, once the number of books/*metricas* of chancellery documentation copies climbed over a hundred, this compound of books started being perceived as an indivisible whole and started being called the Metrica in the collective sense, that is, a digest, or in the modern sense, a collection of specific books/*metricas*. The result of this process is well illustrated in the Ruthenian title of Book 15 in the Books of Inscriptions of the Lithuanian Metrica, rewritten in the late sixteenth century,[5] which could be translated as:

> The metrica of His Grace, King Sigismund the Old, which [contains] court decrees, sejm constitutions, various foreign legation documents, and some donations made from 1528 until 1534—the chronology is inaccurate—[which has been] rewritten, given an index of documents, and bound again at the order of the all-powerful Lord Lew Sapieha, Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Administrator of Slonim [. . .] and, etc., etc., during the service as Metrica regent of myself, the chancellery notary of his grace [i.e., L. Sapieha], Aleksander Korwin Gosiewski, appointed by his grace [i.e., L. Sapieha], 1597.

Figure 1. *Lithuanian Metrica Book 7* (Российский государственный архив древних актов, ф. № 389, опись 1, единица хранения № 7).

5 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, 34.

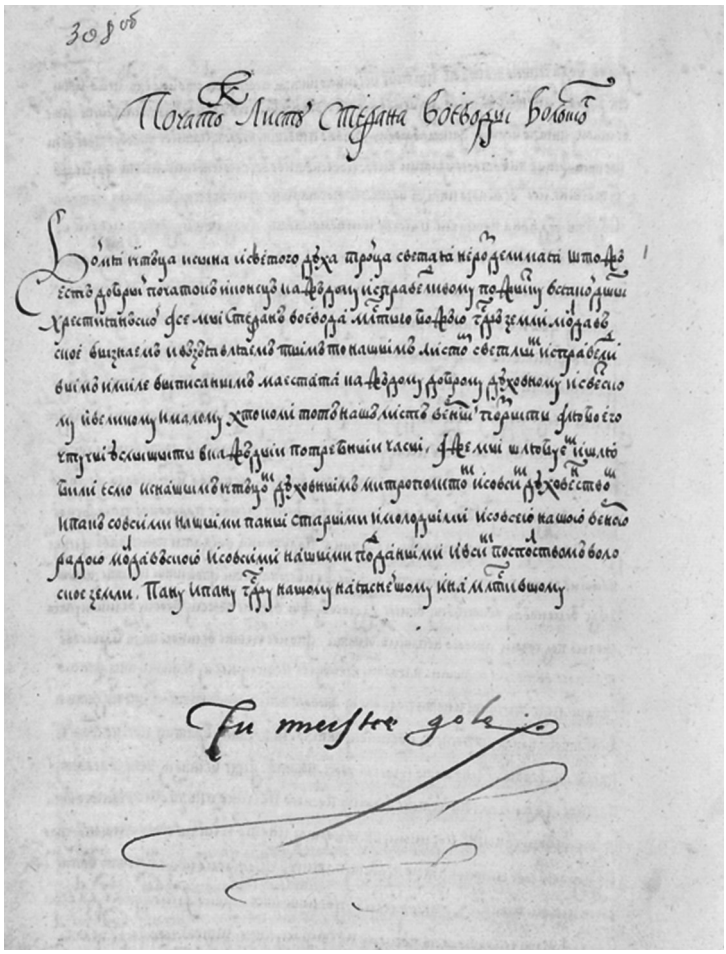

Figure 2. *Fragment of a treaty between the Palatine of Moldavia, Stefan, with Grand Duke Casimir, dated July 28, 1468, entered into Book 5, p. 308v of the Lithuanian Metrica* (Российский государственный архив древних актов, ф. № 389, опись 1, единица хранения № 5).

In this heading, the word *metrica* has been used twice: first as a synonym for a book of document copies, secondly as the title of the whole compound (collection, digest) of books of chancellery documentation.

Thus, in summary it can be said that in the case of the Lithuanian Metrica, the meaning of the word *metrica* changed from a chancellery term referring to a digest of documents written up in one location, to the collective title given to the books of chancellery documentation copies, that is, a concept.

Now for a brief explanation of the word "Lithuanian". From the earliest titles of the books of copies of chancellery documentation, we see that the word "Lithuania" was absent altogether. When did it start being used in combination with Metrica? It is difficult to give a precise answer to this question, as thorough research of this aspect has not been conducted as yet. In the earliest descriptions of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica we know of, dating to 1623, we see the title Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,[6] and at around the same time (1634), the Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł (1593–1656) called it the Lithuanian Metrica in his memoirs.[7] In the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, the first version—Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—was more common, and has been adopted in Belarusian historiography.[8]

In the late eighteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was abolished and the Russian Empire confiscated the state institutional archives of Poland and Lithuania. The Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was transported to Saint Petersburg, along with the so-called Crown Metrica (*Metryka Koronna*) of the Kingdom of Poland, whereupon both were referred to as the "Metrica of the Annexed Provinces." The departmental public servants of the Third Senate of the Russian Empire, who had been charged with managing the confiscated archives, wanted to distinguish between the chancellery documentation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Polish collection. They started, for their own convenience, to consistently use the shorter version—Lithuanian Metrica (*Litovskaia metrika*). An inventory printed in Saint Petersburg in 1887 played a very important role in the spread of this version of the title in scientific and popular literature—*Inventory of the Books and Acts of the Lithuanian Metrica*.[9] The word "Lithuania" in the phrase "Lithuanian Metrica" should not be identified

6 G. Ia. Galenchanka (as G. Ia. Golenchenko), "Reestr knig Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo 1623 g.," in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Izdatel′stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1989), 341; D. Antanavičius, Originalių Lietuvos Metrikos XVI a. knygų sąrašas, *Istorijos šaltinių tyrimai*, ed. A. Dubonis, vol. 4 (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2012), 167.

7 A. S. Radziwiłł, Memoriale rerum gestarum in Polonia 1632–1656, vol. 2, ed. A. Przyboś and R. Żelewski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo PAN, 1970), 74.

8 G. Ia. Galenchanka, "Metryka Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga," in *Vialikae Kniastva Litouskae. Entsyklapediia u dvukh tamakh*, vol. 2: *K–Ia*, ed. G. P. Pashkau et al. (Minsk: Belarusskaia Entsiklapedia imeni Petrusia Brovki, 2006), 302–303, 306.

9 S. Ptaszycki (as S. L. Ptashitskii), *Opisanie knig i aktov litovskoi Metriki* (Petersburg: Tipografiia Pravitel′stvuiushchego Senata, 1887).

with our understanding of today's Lithuanian state, but refers to the whole former, multinational Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Some scientists do not delve deeper into the subtleties of the meanings of the title and use the term Lithuanian Metrica with some reserve, especially in present-day Belarus. The term is also the focus of heated academic debates over the accuracy of the name given to this set of historical sources. It relates to the characteristics of the Lithuanian Metrica as a set of historical documents formed at a specific time, which researchers can choose from depending on the scientific methodologies they are using, and the historical, archival, legal, and even international policy aspects they want to priorities.

The perception of the Lithuanian Metrica as the state archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whose maintenance was the obligation of the sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, emerged in the early seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century, when it was transferred to Warsaw and together with the Polish (Crown) Metrica formed the state archives of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[10] Back in the first half of the twentieth century, Polish scientists who had made great progress in Lithuanian archival studies described the Lithuanian Metrica as the archive of the ruler or state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[11] However, scientists educated in the Polish Republic, reinstated after the First World War, no longer felt obliged to view the Lithuanian Metrica as a state archive. Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa (1917–2006), who commenced studies in history at Stephen Bathory University in Vilnius in 1937 that were cut short in 1939 due to the outbreak of war, and was repatriated to Poland in 1945, described the Lithuanian Metrica as a complex of Polish cultural historical heritage, the "state archivalia of the Poles," or a part of "the state archive of Poland which experienced a catastrophe at the end of the eighteenth century."[12] Purposefully avoiding describing the Metrica as the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, she used the definition "entirety of the chancellery books of the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania."[13]

10 *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo, soderzhashchaia v sebe diplomaticheskie snosheniia Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolia Sigismunda Avgusta s 1545 po 1572 g.*, ed. M. Obolenskii and I. Daniłowicz, vol. 1 (Moscow: Moskovskoe obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh, 1843), IV (footnote 1), 323.

11 J. Jakubowski, "Archiwum państwowe W. X. Litewskiego i jego losy," *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 9 (1931): 1–18.

12 I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska—charakterystyka i dzieje," *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 65 (1977): 93, 96.

13 Ibid., 95.

She "allowed" it to become the Lithuanian Metrica traditionally from the mid-eighteenth century, when it was transferred together with the Polish (Crown) Metrica to Warsaw.[14] Sułkowska-Kurasiowa was probably the first to reproach Stanisław Ptaszycki for giving the misleading term "Lithuanian Metrica" in the inventory published in 1887 to the entirety of books kept in the Imperial Senate, as they did indeed only make up a fraction of the collection, alongside the Crown Metrica.[15]

The mentioned author's provisions were adopted as being conceptual and were further used in the work of the American scientist and archivist Patricia Kennedy Grimsted when studying the historical document sets kept in the Soviet Union, and particularly the Lithuanian Metrica[16]—she spent several years cooperating with Sułkowska-Kurasiowa.[17] In her works from the second half of the twentieth century, she described the Lithuanian Metrica (collection 389 of the Russian State Archive of Early Acts) as a fragmented collection, "the so-called Lithuanian Metrica,"[18] that was formally started and completely formed only in the Russian Empire, where the unsuitable title "Lithuanian Metrica" was entrenched once and for all. She also dates the beginning of the confusion to Ptaszycki's *Inventory*, a publication of the description and history of the Lithuanian Metrica in Russia in 1887, where the misleading name of this body of historical sources, a hybrid collection, was entrenched.[19] Actually, in the past this collection

14 Ibid., 93.

15 Ibid., 95.

16 P. Kennedy Grimsted, "The Archival Legacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Fate of Historical Archives in Vilnius," *Slavonic and East European Review* 57, no. 4 (October 1979): 552–571 (The Lithuanian Metrica is discussed on pages 553–557).

17 P. Kennedy Grimsted, with the collaboration of I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica" in Moscow and Warsaw: reconstructing the Archives of Grand Duchy of Lithuania* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1984), xv.

18 Ibid., 30. A summary of the most important points and conclusions appears in Polish, see: P. Kennedy Grimsted, "Czym jest i czym była Metryka Litewska? (Stan obecny i perspektywy odtworzenia zawartości archiwum kancelaryjnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego)," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 92, no. 1 (1985): 55–83.

19 Ibid., 22, 24. Generally speaking, neither Sułkowska-Kurasiowa nor Kennedy Grimsted were the first critics of the term "Lithuanian Metrica." Professor Sergei Shambinago considered the title that Ptaszycki entrenched a misunderstanding, during negotiations held in 1921 over the return of Lithuanian cultural treasures. The Metrica is a collection of documents regarding the Russian-Ukrainian idea of the Lithuanian state, many of which "affect" Russian lands. See: P. Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros turtų likimas," *Mūsų žinynas: karo mokslo ir istorijos žurnalas* 4, no. 10 (1923): 90–91.

never really had a stable structure, nor were there any clear rules for its compilation, which is why the rewriting, rebinding, transfer, and reorganization of the body of books of the Metrica (in the late sixteenth century) constantly presents the problem of its precise definition, conten,t and initial structure. The structure of the present-day Lithuanian Metrica that is kept in Moscow with several books that accidentally appeared in Warsaw, and other supplementary material, would constitute as the fourth significant reorganization. The books of the Lithuanian chancellery make up a part of this fourth, new complex of material.[20]

The American researcher has grounds for her criticism. The Lithuanian Metrica that was transported to Saint Petersburg at the end of the eighteenth century was kept there together with the Polish (Crown) Metrica, so when the term Lithuanian Metrica became established in 1887, the Lithuanian connotation was overemphasized, as by itself, it covered less than half of the set of historical sources described in the Russian Empire.[21] This title was too broad and did not suit the historical-archival use of the term *metrica*. Using Polish archival and historical Polish dictionaries from the second half of the twentieth century, she gave the narrowest, historically correct meaning of the word—they were only the books of inscriptions of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[22]

She agreed with Sułkowska-Kurasiowa that in the broader sense, the Lithuanian Metrica used to be applied, technically speaking, to all the books of the grand duchy's chancellery. On the other hand, it is wrong to take the historically formed extended meaning of the Lithuanian Metrica and apply it liberally to all the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,[23] especially as the documents of other institutions, original parchment documents, privileges, foreign treaties, received documents, and so forth, could have also been kept with the Metrica. The reason for this method of compilation is that from the very beginning, the Metrica books and unbound documents, and state privileges, were kept in the same location—the treasury at the rulers' palace in Vilnius. However, in terms of archivistics, these other documents should not be attributed to the chancellery books of inscriptions as such, nor the Lithuanian Metrica, as from the seventeenth century, these kinds of documents were no longer kept with the books

20 Kennedy Grimsted and I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 11.
21 Ibid., 5, 21.
22 Ibid., 6.
23 Ibid., 6–8.

of inscriptions and they awaited a different fate. Parchment documents were not described in the Lithuanian Metrica in the inventories made in Warsaw in the eighteenth century, which means the term was applied in a narrower sense than for archives.[24] The Lithuanian Metrica—as books of inscriptions—were not an archive as such, and could never have been one. It constituted only part of the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and its structure is not clear.[25] These kinds of circumstances lead to the aim of this scientific research—to create an ideal inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica: using archival familiarization methods, to carefully put into order the chronologically different sets of material of other origins within the Lithuanian Metrica in Moscow and in Warsaw, and to ascertain their actual places of origin. An ideal inventory would help determine what constitutes the Lithuanian Metrica—the books of inscriptions, and what constitutes other material, and to then *regroup* (emphasized by the authors—*A. D.*) it based on its origins and order of composition. In further research, the Lithuanian Metrica should be looked at from a technical aspect—as the chancellery books of inscriptions, and the Lithuanian Metrica as a broad complex of various types of archival material, even though everything happened to be kept together for a long time.[26]

Kennedy Grimsted's achronological requirement to analyze sixteenth–eighteenth-century document-keeping using twentieth-century archiving methods is quite surprising. She was fully aware how and why both Metricas, the most important parts of the Polish and Lithuanian archives, both found their way to the Russian Empire and the circumstances under which they were later scattered apart (for more details, see chapter 9). Until the end of the eighteenth century, the Lithuanian Metrica had already functioned for 400 years, having formed from certain kinds of state documents and chancellery notices, one-off documents or copies kept in the so-called grand duke's chancellery books of inscriptions. As the latter were being compiled and used, they acquired some specific features, which distinguished them both from the Crown Metrica, and from other materials in the Russian archives. This was confirmed without question in the inventory of the Lithuanian and Crown metricas compiled by the commission headed by

24 Ibid., 8–10.

25 In the current col. 389 in Moscow, there are around 500 Lithuanian chancellery books out of the more that 700 items being kept in the collection that may be called the Lithuanian Metrica. See ibid., 30.

26 Ibid., 10, 71–72.

Jegor Kirschbaum, presented at the emperor's office in Saint Petersburg in 1798 after the Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—a fact Kennedy Grimsted was well aware of.[27] The objective to create an "ideal inventory" is quite misleading, as the *regrouping* of the "real" authorized oldest archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania would go some way towards justifying its barbaric dismantlement in Russia in the nineteenth–twentieth centuries. This would meet with Kennedy Grimsted's main provision that in the late eighteenth century, a body of archival documents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of unknown origins and composition had been transported from Warsaw (actually, from Vilnius. Read more in chapter 9) to Saint Petersburg.[28] When speaking about the archives of the Polish and Lithuanian state, the scientist is quite adamant about ignoring the existence of a separate archive of the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. She considers Poland as the only successor to the legacy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The researcher indicates how the Crown Metrica had been returned to Poland in 1923 based on its place of origin—the Kraków Royal Archive.[29] Based on this argument, additional problems arise *ex silentio* in the recognition of which archive the Lithuanian Metrica actually belonged to, as it was kept in more than just one location: It was kept in Trakai, in the rulers' palace in Vilnius, with certain city dwellers, separate books were kept with chancellors and vice-chancellors, some books and state documents were found in the Radziwiłł archive in Nesvyzh (now in Warsaw or Minsk), and by the eighteenth century, it was in Warsaw.

Thus, all of Kennedy Grimsted's scientific archival research cleverness regarding research and storage of the Lithuanian Metrica up to the collapse of the Soviet Union was intended to "dilute" the statehood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the legacy of its written heritage and origins of its early archives, and to justify their plunder, dismantlement and *regrouping*, and later on, the return of some of the archives to a "home" of doubtful origins—Poland. The American scientist did not endow Lithuania with any rights to its historic written heritage in her studies. During the collapse of the Soviet Union, she called the renewed efforts of Lithuania's government

27 Ibid., 17–18.
28 Ibid., 4.
29 Ibid., 23.

and scientists to justify those rights in the Lithuanian Law on Archives of 1990 and in negotiations with Russia as "imperialist claims."[30]

Some scientists admired Kennedy Grimsted's archival characteristics, and we can find some of these contradictory hypotheses in their work: books of chancellery document copies, the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a varied collection in Moscow (col. 389).[31] However, the American scientist's suggested research on the Lithuanian Metrica to create an "ideal inventory" did not establish deep academic roots. Researchers with an excellent understanding of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica and their content harnessed, in their view, more appropriate historical analysis methods that allowed them to continue describing it as an archive. The Belarusian scientist Henadz'i Halenčanka, who defines the Lithuanian Metrica as the "collections of specific material (fascicles, books) made up of document copies and other important auxiliary material" from the grand duke's chancellery, as the foundations of the grand duke's, later, of the state's most important archive.[32] The experienced researcher of the writings of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Aliaksandr Hrusha also thinks likewise: It is the grand duke's archive,[33] which maintained the qualities (features) of a ruler's personal, social state, and ministerial archives.[34] In this ruler's archive, he discerns naturally formed document sets that could have been kept in

30 P. Kennedy Grimsted, "Beyond Perestroika: Soviet-area archives after the August coup," *American Archivist* 55 (Winter 1992): 105–106; eadem, "Proiskhozhdenie dokumentov ili ikh otnoshenie k istorii Rossii (SSSR)," *Otechestvennye arkhivy* 1 (1993): 21–22; S. Jegelevičius, "'Lietuvos imperinės pretenzijos' arba kam tarnauja profesorės Patricijos Kennedy Grimsted rašiniai," *Lietuvos aidas* 164 (August 26, 1993): 9.

31 A. Khoroshkevich (Moscow) is of the same opinion, that the Lithuanian Metrica is actually a collection. See: A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Litovskaia Metrika, sostav i puti formirovaniia," in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel′stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1989), 11, 24, 26; idem, "Poslednie publikatorskie nachinaniia V. T. Pashuto i ikh sud′ba," *Vostochnaia Evropa v istoricheskoi retrospective. K 80-letiiu V. T. Pashuto* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul′tury, 1999), 295. On the other hand, other Russian researchers correctly noticed that, objectively speaking, the Metrica only took on the structure of a collection once it had been taken apart and scattered in the Russian Empire. See: M. I. Avtokratova and A. S. Svetenko, "K voprosu ob istorii formirovaniia i arkhivnogo osvoeniia fonda LM," in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Institut istorii SSSR AN SSSR, 1989), 108–111 (summary: 110–111).

32 Galenchanka. *Metryka Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga*, 302.

33 A. I. Hrusha (as A. I. Grusha), "'Khranit′ vechno.' Arkhivy Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo kontsa XIV—pervoi treti XVI v.," in *Istoricheskii vestnik*, vol. 7 [154]: *Litva, Rus′ i Pol′sha XIII–XVI*, ed. I. V. Kurukin (Moscow: IKAR, 2014), 43.

34 Ibid., 47.

different locations in Vilnius and Trakai: important separate state documents and treasury books in the treasury, and the ruler's Metrica—in the chancellery. Hrusha makes an interesting comment on one of the archive's functions—how an original document and its copy in the chancellery book would make its way to the archive: The original would go to the treasury, while its copy would remain in the chancellery.[35] Even though he is wrong about the storage of the Lithuanian Metrica just in the ruler's chancellery (read more about its storage in chapter 7), this comment helps us realize the exclusive role played by the grand duke's chancellery in the genesis of the ruler's archive, as its work involved the use of the original document and its copy, and this should be seen as independent functions of a ruler's stable archive.

If we return to the question raised at the start—what would be a brief definition of the Lithuanian Metrica—of all the three mentioned definitions, the third is the most accurate: The Lithuanian Metrica is a collection of the books of copies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania chancellery's documents. Even though it would be incorrect to call the Lithuanian Metrica a state archive, in the narrow academic sense of the concept, as it was actually just a part of the state archive, yet if we consider that the chancellery's activities were closely related to the ruler himself and the Council of Lords, and after the Union of Lublin of 1569—to the activities of the whole Commonwealth sejm, that is, the most important central state institutions, then the definition of the Lithuanian Metrica as a state archive and its use as such in academic texts could also be justified: Compared to the destruction and elimination of other symbols that testified to the statehood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, then the Lithuanian Metrica remains to this day the most impressive, for its size, and most importantly, for its substance, being a fact and symbol of the existence of this statehood.

35 Hrusha, "'Khranit' vechno," 47.

Chapter 2

The Grand Issue of the History of the Lithuanian Metrica—the Appearance of the Books (until the Late Sixteenth Century)

Researchers unanimously agree that the oldest books of the Lithuanian Metrica, or more precisely—the registers of the ruler's documents managed by the chancellery notaries, or document copies from which chancellery books of varying scope would be compiled—appeared during the reign of the Grand Duke of Lithuania (1440–1492) and King of Poland (1447–1492) Casimir. Based on the oldest Books of Inscriptions (books 3 and 4), now kept in collection 389 in the Russian State Archive of Early Acts in Moscow,[1] the year 1440 is usually indicated as the beginning of the handling of document registers and certain kinds of synopses. Until then, during the reign of Vytautas (1392–1430), there was still no strict adherence to the rule that privileges or documents (registers, *chartularius*) received by and issued from the office (chancellery) of the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

1 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 3 (1440–1498). Užrašymų knyga 3*, ed. L. Anužytė and A. Baliulis (Vilnius: Žara, 1998); *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 4 (1479–1491). Užrašymų knyga 4*, ed. L. Anužytė (Vilnius: Žara, 2004).

had to be duplicated, from which the chancellery books (metricas) would later be formed.[2] The years 1476–1486 are considered the first period when the so-called chancellery books of document copies issued and received by the Lithuanian grand duke, assembled into piles and bundles, appeared. Far from all the documents, whose copies were meant to satisfy the various administrative requirements of the ruler and his chancellery officials, were actually duplicated, yet their number grew exponentially with each new ruler. This is quite easy to believe upon leafing through the books of the Lithuanian Metrica dating to the mid-fifteenth–mid-sixteenth centuries that were republished by Lithuanian scientists. They reveal that the quantity of documents being entered every decade grew unabated, while their chronology was always shorter, until books containing material for barely one or two years appeared. Documents that were kept for the provenance of the grand duke included copies of acts he had issued, ruler's decrees necessary for the state's economic management, orders, provisions, verdicts reached by various appellate courts, while foreign diplomacy material and documents regarding foreign legations were kept as separate copies. The data kept in the books was intended for the highest levels of executive government to enable it to release laws, to issue privileges equal to laws, to implement justice, and conduct foreign policy. Chronologically, this material dates to the first half of the fifteenth century.

On the other hand, the history behind the appearance of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica is not so straightforward as was just described above. For over a century already, each generation of researchers who have tackled this problem come up with new, interesting, and valuable ideas, and

2 M. Kosman, "Archiwum wielkiego księcia Witolda," *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 46 (1967): 129–138; idem, "Kancelaria wielkiego księcia Witolda," *Studia źrodłoznawcze* 14 (1969): 91–119. One possibility is that the grand duke could have ordered for some documents that he considered important to be entered into the books of copies immediately after Vytautas's death—meaning, May 21, 1431. Švitrigaila's instruction to enter one of the commissar's resolutions into the ruler's books was publicized by Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 92. Dubonis cited her finding: A. Dubonis, "The Lithuanian Metrica," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 7 (2002): 114; E. Saviščevas, "Suvaldyti chaosą: Bandymas naujai tirti Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Kazimiero suteikčių knygą," *Istorijos šaltinių tyrimai*, Book 1, ed. D. Antanavičius and D. Baronas (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2008), 119. This error was corrected by Hrusha's evidence that the 1431 entry, based on its palaeographic and diplomatic characteristics, could be dated only to the late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries. See A. I. Hrusha, *Dokumental'naia pis'mennost' Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo (konets XIV—pervaia tret' XVI v.)* (Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2015), 266 (note 1097).

release new data. Step by step, we are getting closer to a level of scientific clarity where each opinion has its own rightful place.

Considering the question of how the books formed, researchers usually take to finding an answer to the question of when did the books appear.

The compilation, or genesis, of the books of copies of the grand duke, his officials and other state institution documents kept in the chancellery—the future Lithuanian Metrica—as well as the functions attributed to these books and their dynamics in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries are among the most widely studied questions in the history of the emergence of the Lithuanian Metrica. They were first scientifically and thoroughly researched by the Russian scientist, Professor Nikolai Berezhkov (1886–1956), who presented his results in 1946. Incidentally, prior to this date, Professor Matvei Liubavskii (1860–1936) and Ivan Lappo (1869–1944) had also made certain comments on this subject, but we should consider Berezhkov the pioneer of academic research of the Lithuanian Metrica.

Nikolai Berezhkov

He included the essence of his scientific research topic in the subtitle to his monograph: "The Lithuanian Metrica as a historical source. Part I: On the early structure of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica before 1522."[3] The selection of the final year for this study was determined by the changeover in the ruler's chancellery. In 1522, the palatine of Vilnius, Albertas Goštautas (Olbracht Gasztołd), was appointed as the chancellor. He changed the way in which chancellery documentation was being stored: He started a separate book for entering copies of each of the ruler's grants (donations, *daniny*) and court verdicts. When explaining the issue, Berezhkov stated—and, we must admit, rightfully so—that neither archaeological or historical research had ever raised the question of whether the current copied books of the Lithuanian Metrica that were rewritten at the order of Chancellor Sapieha in the end of the sixteenth century were identical to the originals, which eventually disappeared sometime in the middle of the seventeenth century. Was the material (documents) in the original books presented exactly as it appeared in the copies—out of order, with no indication of classification and not in any chronological sequence? Ignorance of this kind

3 N. G. Berezhkov, *Litovskaia metrika kak istoricheskii istochnik, vol. 1: O pervonachal'nom sostave knig Litovskoi Metriki po 1522 god* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1946).

of source research question, in his view, surmounted to stating that in the copied books, documents had been entered as they were in the originals. The structure and content of the Metrica books would be the same, that is, each copied book would usually correlate with the original older version, while the entry of various documents in-between, without any set order or classification, was considered common practice in the ruler's chancellery. Thus, the state of disorder was in fact a quality of the early books, not the rewritten copied books. Indeed, he claimed it was not difficult to discern several smaller initial books among the oldest books of the Lithuanian Metrica that were later incorporated into the originals we are familiar with, which were rewritten as the copied books thanks to Sapieha.[4]

Once they are "unraveled" into composite units, they reveal a different history of the appearance of the books of the Metrica.

The idea of how to formulate his question came to Berezhkov quite easily in several of the earliest copied books of the Lithuanian Metrica, where he discovered series of documents, usually called files (*spravy*), registers (*reestry*) or sometimes books (*knigi*), that were related to the activities of a particular chancellery notary. Of the rather meagre research literature available at the time, he quite liked the comments made by Ptaszycki (1853–1933), explained in the scientific introduction[5] to the never out-of-date *Inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica* the latter had released, where it was claimed that the early foreign legation documents could have been written into separate fascicles from the very beginning. Berezhkov was unhappy that the scientist ended his thought process there and then, without deliberating when and how these kinds of fascicles could have found their way into the books of the Lithuanian Metrica—into the originals, or into the copies initiated by Sapieha? On the other hand, this kind of research aspect paved the way for his presumption that, if taken in the broader sense, early forms of other documents could also have been entered into such fascicles. Meaning that the copied books had been compiled from these kinds of smaller fascicles, or, several preliminary books, which is why the old, original books that had not survived, or in Berezhkov's actual research—the already rewritten copied books, could be unraveled to their "pure" state.[6] The reconstructed old structure of the Metrica had to have revealed not just the disorder of the chartulary activities of the government of the Grand

4 Ibid., 8, 10–12, 24.
5 Ibid., 10.
6 Ibid., 25.

Duchy of Lithuania, but also the order and purposeful classification of documents being entered. Liubavskii received some criticism from his student, Berezhkov, for his opinion on the disordered entry of document copies in the Metrica, specifically over the fact that the copied books were considered identical to the originals. Berezhkov criticized his teacher's comments that the documents in the books were being grouped and rewritten in a disorderly manner, not taking into consideration their content or purpose.[7] Lappo received similar reproaches.

Without even having begun a specific analysis, Berezhkov immediately disclosed some aspects of his future conclusions in the first chapter of his book, together with the criticism of his predecessors. This was necessary in order to demonstrate the errors of those two famous researchers, and to entrench his own discovery: The copied books consisted not of one, but of several old books, which was identified as the reason for the noticeable confusion, disorder, and variety of content in the entry of documents.[8]

Even though Berezhkov did not highlight the developmental stages of the early books of the Metrica in his selected research period, they are nonetheless quite easily identified: a) the old or initial books, the "pure" books that are in such demand; b) over a certain period of time, they were compiled into larger original books; c) at the end of the sixteenth century, they were rewritten and became uniform in format, were neatly bound as convenient copied books with document titles, and the content of each book given—this is part of the current archival collection of the Lithuanian Metrica in Moscow (189 out of approximately 600 books). Berezhkov studied twelve of the earliest copied books that have survived to our days: Books 3–11, 221–223 (based on the current numbering), or Books of Inscriptions 3–11 and Court Record Books 1–3 (based on Ptaszycki's *Inventory*). The chronology of almost all of them does not go beyond 1522.

Berezhkov intended to trace the old books back, based on the copied books of the Lithuanian Metrica. He asserted that certain copied books were indeed identical to the older initial books. However, a majority of them—primarily the books compiled during the reigns of grand dukes Casimir and Alexander (1492–1506) and almost all the books from the beginning of the reign of Sigismund the Old (1506–1548)—were compilations of copied books, that is, several older initial books had already been compiled into

7 Ibid., 11–12, 14.

8 Ibid., 22, 24.

one later book (that is, in the original or into a copied book derived from the original). The old books, as they could be seen in the copied books of the late sixteenth century, tried to be copied so as to correlate with the years of reign of a particular grand duke, however even this rather crude chronological method was not always followed. So, when he spoke about the old books that had survived in the copied books of the Lithuanian Metrica so well known to researchers today, Berezhkov confirmed the first impression that they had indeed been written without following any chronological or systemic order. He also identified fragments of certain surviving old books—they had been scattered in among several parts of copied books, or even found their way into another book, while the content of fragments entered in by "others" sometimes differed from the old (original) book. The old books and their fragments in copied books contain single documents or groups thereof that could not have belonged to them at all. Such was the variety of content Berezhkov realized existed in the copied books of the Lithuanian Metrica, the reasons why this had occurred, and the related objectives for reconstructing the old, initial books.

Berezhkov asked quite accurately whether the officials in the ruler's chancellery before the actual copying of the original books of the Lithuanian Metrica in the late sixteenth century had even tried to resolve the confusion and muddled state of the original books—to reinstate the old, initial order. The argument-backed answer that they did not[9] testifies that the further disordered manner of entering documents in the later books was the continuation of an old, accepted phenomenon and legacy. The historian explains the relative stability of the original books with a comment quite significant to subsequent Metrica research, saying that returning the initial structure prior to the rewriting tasks of the late sixteenth century could have been disrupted by the unchanging structure of the original books, which had become entrenched by the established mode of compiling documents into single archived units—volumes, which were then bound into blocks (*pereplety*).[10] Thus, over an undefined period of time, notaries in the ruler's chancellery compiled larger archival units from the old Lithuanian Metrica books, that were starting to take on the form of bound manuscript book-blocks (Berezhkov made no mention of hard covers on these books). This established order for document compilation was upheld in the copied books.

9 Ibid., 31–32.
10 Ibid., 32.

Amid his careful albeit confusing research, complete with numerous citations from the Metrica books, in twelve of the earliest, original or copied [block] books of the Lithuanian Metrica up to 1522, Berezhkov distinguished forty-two old, initial books. He proclaimed that the documents entered into them were classified based on their content.[11] He also concluded that a clear trend prevailed in the ruler's chancellery to form neat books on the same theme. Notaries compiled several types of books: grants, court decrees, the lease of the grand duke's regalia (usually taverns or customs duties), treasury disbursement registers, legation documents—a total of seven thematic structural groups. It is not difficult to understand that the "pure" old books were clearly thinner than the ones we know of now.

The bureaucratically ideal early chartulary that Berezhkov attests existed in the ruler's chancellery is not always very convincing. He was certain that the old books had titles, which, when compiling the first copied books in the sixteenth century, remained in one way or another and served as a guideline, helping him identify the old ones. If there were no titles, he would have to carefully analyze all the chronological breaks in the documents of the book being reconstructed, which would have testified to the old book's end or beginning. Unfortunately, these were the only real guidelines in his method, because, as he admitted, the later Metrica books did not retain any external palaeographic features that would have allowed distinguishing them into their older, constituent parts. The analysis was further complicated by the very rare use of the term *книга* (book) in the titles (barely five times out of the forty-two "books"), which implied it being one of the old books.[12] Thus, Berezhkov suggested considering the possibility that the old titles had been edited when they were being rewritten into the future original book. Another shortcoming in his method is related to even more serious contradictions. The books he identified as the old, initial books were far from perfect in terms of an ideal chronology or "pure" documents grouped according to themes, as he claimed. Besides these, there were separate large documents, swathes of mixed documents of different content, smaller documents entered alone or in small groups, none of which suited any of the initial books. All of this is more akin to a false creation of the initial books of the Lithuanian Metrica.

11 Ibid., 37.
12 Ibid., 36.

Why did the appearance and structure of the old books change? Berezhkov called the violations in document classification and chronology in the "pure" old books episodic, saying this was one of their characteristics, as in chartulary practice, documents were not being strictly classified,[13] and that a very precise chronological order was not adhered to when they were being entered.[14] He also urged taking into account many other factors: the entry of earlier documents into temporary books, also, their later entry into blank pages left in a book, or at the end, wherever there was some space,[15] or defects in the originals that already existed at the time of their rewriting, and so forth. In addition, the structure of the forty-two old books changed at different rates. Berezhkov divided them into groups: the current books (the ones that were being filled), which remained more or less uniform; the books collections of a particular kind of document; larger documents rewritten along with the books; collections of miscellaneous content and small, separate documents entered into various books. The appearance of the old books was more evident from the stable books collections, while a majority of the problems mentioned above were more characteristic of the running, "current," books, which incidentally made up the largest group among the old initial books. The small quantity of mixed collections would have been independent units even before the copying of the Lithuanian Metrica at the end of the sixteenth century, as they could not have been entered into the originals, or so Berezhkov claims. Taking all these circumstances into account, he reached the conclusion that the copied books did not match the appearance (format) of the original books, as mixed collections of documents had been entered into them during the copying process.[16]

With this claim, Berezhkov contradicts himself, as elsewhere in his research he asserted that prior to the copying of the Lithuanian Metrica at the end of the sixteenth century, the bound blocks of original chancellery books had an unchanging structure: "the material at hand was already stable and entrenched, it was compiled into archival units—volumes, or bindings—and the divisions they contained were the same as the divisions in

13 Ibid., 48.

14 Ibid., 49.

15 Berezhkov notes quite correctly that bound books containing empty pages could have been prepared in advance for the rewriting of the documents. See ibid., 50–51 (note 56, page 161).

16 Ibid., 60.

the volumes of copied books."[17] Scientists later interpreted these two contradictory opinions coming from Berezhkov differently. They are important to research of the Metrica, so we shall discuss them in more detail later on.

Berezhkov was not so concerned with the chronology of the compilation of the old books in the original books, that is, the chronology of appearance of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. For his research, he chose a flexible period spanning from the middle of the fifteenth century to 1522, yet sometimes he ranged into the late sixteenth century as well. Some of his conclusions regarding the dates when one of his identified groups of old books, the "current" books of the Lithuanian Metrica, were being handled became entrenched in literature. He stated that the short registers of land grant (endowments, donations) documents kept in the chancellery of Grand Duke Casimir started being kept in 1440, but that for some unknown reason this procedure stopped after a decade or so. At the beginning of the 1480s, Casimir's registers were assembled into a book—this marked the beginning of books collections, the first lies in the current Book 3 of the Metrica, and at the same time a "current" book was begun—a "pure" book of documents of the same kind, distinguished in Books 3–5 of the Lithuanian Metrica.

Egidijus Banionis

The original postulations coming from Berezhkov's research and his methods, the unexpected conclusions and sometimes confusing argumentation left an impact on subsequent early research of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. Egidijus Banionis (1948–1993) took the main idea—a small in scale old, initial book—and analyzed it further (fig. 3). He developed his ideas in an article in 1988, when he took a more in-depth look at the term "Lithuanian Metrica book" and how it related to the concept of a "book" in the terminology of the ruler's chancellery.[18] Banionis did not understand Berezhkov completely, he did not discern three stages in the physical change of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica, as such, seeing no difference between the original and the old, initial book, and following Berezhkov to

17 Ibid., 32.

18 E. Banionis, "Lietuvos Metrikos knygos: sąvoka, terminas, definicija," *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis. 1988 metai* (1989): 135–48. This was his response to the Lithuanian Metrica researcher P. Kennedy Grimsted. See Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 6–7, 23–24, 30–31.

the word, in his work Banionis indicated that prior to being copied in the late sixteenth century, the original (old) books had become undone and had disintegrated into fragments. During the course of their rewriting, they ended up being scattered through the copied books of the late sixteenth century.[19] He criticized Berezhkov for the date given for the reform of the chancellery's work (1486), when the so-called "current" books began, and for the number of these kinds of books Berezkov indicated. Banionis believed this number to be too small—two books for the late fifteenth century. On the other hand, he, just like the Russian scientist, could not clearly say what the ruler's original (old) chancellery book actually was. According to Banionis, books were series of chronologically uniform documents copied into separate fascicles by the notaries, which he had distinguished as such. The documents here were mixed: "courts and [land] divisions." Several fascicles of various scope, assembled into a bundle or a folio constituted a provisional book. Banionis calculated over forty such series with a clear beginning and end (1492–1506). Using this term, "fascicle group", which had no broader explanation, he identified that twelve such assemblages existed and called them "separate, original books."

Figure 3. *Egidijus Banionis (1948–1993).* (Manuscripts of the Lithuanian Institute of History)

19 Banionis, "Lietuvos Metrikos knygos," 143.

In his opinion, "books" as a term used to refer to the first books of the Lithuanian Metrica, basically, sets of fascicle bundles, was unsuitable. Thus, in 1492–1506, "books," in terms of chancellery terminology, could only have been a concept. Later on, becoming more specific, the concept assumed the meaning of a term—the "books of the ruler's chancellery."[20] At the same time, he raised the hypothesis that the title "books," which had become so established in the chancellery in the late fifteenth century actually referred to a means of chartulary, which was opposite to scrolls, but did not give evidence of the use of a single scroll in the chancellery.[21]

In his article from 1992, Banionis specified his conclusions and provided arguments for the claims in his previous article.[22] He toned down some of his earlier, blunter statements. For example, he rejected calculating how many original books, that is, archival units, or bundles, consisting of the aforementioned fascicles and single documents, there could have been in the chancellery in 1492–1506. Based on his analysis of Book of Inscriptions 4 of the Lithuanian Metrica, containing foreign legation documents and court cases, and Books 3, 5, and 6 of the Metrica with grant documents, he argued that the original books, specifically those of the legations, formed from 1480 but were stored unbound.[23] These were either fascicles of the foreign legations, or copies of court case and gifting documents with single documents ("archival crumbs"), placed into more or less stable bundles intended for long-term storage. Banionis attributed several terms to these kinds of books: bundles, fascicles, series, storage units. He tried to prove that the early fascicles storage units of copied documents initially accumulated in two or three almost chronologically uniform series, and that smaller series could be discerned within them. These document groups could be considered the unbound precursors to the chancellery books. However, he created these series by applying a deconstructive method: He reorganized the documents under analysis into a chronological order, resulting in a series which may not have even existed in the books. He agreed with Berezhkov that documents were being collected (copied) based on their content: court cases and grants, lease agreements and customs papers. During the course of the century, pages went missing from the

20 Ibid., 144–145.

21 Ibid., 146.

22 E. Banionis, "K voprosu o genezise knig Litovskoi Metriki (posledniaia chetvert' XV v.)," in *Lietuvos Metrika: 1988 metų tyrinėjimai* (1992): 8–45.

23 Ibid., 20, 24.

stored fascicles, some became mixed in among other bundles, or the bundles themselves essentially became disordered. However, there is no doubt that at the end of the sixteenth century, these bundles were being rewritten into neatly bound copied books.[24]

Attention should be drawn to Banionis's precaution, as he applied this scheme specifically only to Book of Inscriptions 4 of the Metrica, and also the court cases and grant documents from three other books—3, 5, and 6 of the Lithuanian Metrica. They are associated with the reigns of Casimir and Alexander, but not of Sigismund the Old (1506–1548). In his research, Banionis was wise enough not to overstep the 1506 boundary—the end of the reign of Alexander. He knew there was a trap after this year—three original books of the Lithuanian Metrica from the beginning of the reign of Sigismund the Old that had not been rewritten, yet were neatly bound and very thick. They are books 9 (1511–1518), 221 (1510–1517), and 223 (1510–1534) based on the current numbering. Banionis did not endeavor to examine them. Unfortunately, not all of the conclusions he made can be confirmed by the latest discoveries, as we shall see later on.

Each reader, comparing the main results of Berezhkov and Banionis in examining the format of the old Metrica books and their primary structure, should be surprised—both scientists' conclusions regarding the existence of old "books" of one type of document, that is, court cases and grants (gifting and endowments) in the chancellery of Grand Duke Alexander do coincide to an extent. Banionis established two or three chronologically uniform series (fascicles, storage units, bundles), unbound, and therefore they can only relatively be called books, while Berezhkov determined two "current" books. Their findings differed only in terms of the term applied to the units of document copies: Banionis saw series of copies made by specific chancellery notaries, kept in their "pre-book" condition, because he claimed that until the sixteenth century, the ruler's chancellery did not have books in the direct sense of the term. Berezhkov, on the other hand, found the oldest surviving initial chancellery books amid three of the copied books from Alexander's chancellery (Book of Inscriptions 3, 5, and 6).

An important message lies in the findings of both Lithuanian Metrica researchers. There was no standard or common model for the compilation of incoming and outgoing document copies into long-term storage units in the activities of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, yet

24 Ibid., 38–39.

we can quite easily notice reforms in the mode of work it carried out and a variety of chartulary practices associated with the turnover in notaries, chancellors, and grand dukes.

Important Research on the Appearance of the Earliest Books of the Lithuanian Metrica

Krzysztof Pietkiewicz agreed with Banionis on the significance of the series of copies made by chancellery notaries on the genesis of certain books of the Metrica, though he denied their existence in the "pre-book" condition in easily dismantled bundles.[25] Using the Lithuanian Metrica's Book of Inscriptions 9 as an example, Pietkiewicz argued how the fascicles (registers) of document copies made by notaries, of which the notary may have had more than one, would be completely rewritten by the *dyak* (scribe) of the ruler's chancellery into the actual chancellery book, also giving the name of the notary who compiled the fascicle and the content of the documents being entered at the beginning of the book. During the rewriting of the notary's fascicle, a sense of uniformity tried to be upheld or somehow formed, though not always successfully. The copying of document series formed by notaries into traditional Metrica books began at the end of the fifteenth century.[26] The same kind of procedure for compiling books can be seen in the second part of the Book of Inscriptions 5 released in 1993 by Banionis—here there are no traces of bundles of fascicles full of copied documents. Pietkiewicz offered his opinion about Berezhkov's ideas and especially about the chancellery term "books" that had misguided Banionis. This was how an archival storage unit during the times of the Chancellor Mikołaj Radziwiłł (1510–1521) was called. With the change in procedures in chartulary (and the organization of work) in the chancellery under Goštautas, who was appointed in 1522, the term "book" disappeared. Document copies entered into books were now being classified based on their theme (deeds of conveyance and court decrees) and chronology. Qualitatively different books than those compiled from notary-created series emerged.[27]

25 K. Pietkiewicz, "Nowa edycja Metryki Litewskiej," *Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia: Studia historica* 7 (1995): 144.

26 Ibid., 144–145.

27 K. Pietkiewicz, "Księga 9 wpisów (zapisei) Metryki Litewskiej, układ i zawartość, oraz jej kontynuacja do roku 1518 z Archiwum Radziwiłłowskiego," *Lietuvos Metrika: 1991–1996 metų tyrinėjimai* (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1998), 19–20.

The Polish scientist was rather outspoken about the disappearance of the term "book"—the term was used even after 1522, however his comments about the efforts of Goštautas to make work in the ruler's chancellery more effective and the reflection of these activities in chartulary and document archiving were accurate.

Problems concerning the genesis and structure of the early books of the Lithuanian Metrica are being solved in the significant conclusions outlined in the Introduction by the editors of Book 227 of the Lithuanian Metrica (Court Record Book 8). Stanislovas Lazutka (1923–2009) and Irena Valikonytė disagreed with Banionis on the structure of the old Metrica books. Their research results are closer to the arguments given by Berezhkov and Pietkiewicz. They disagreed that it was impossible to recreate the initial structure of the Metrica. The accrued experience in scientific research of these publishers of historical sources working at Vilnius University allowed them to state that there were already two types of books in the ruler's chancellery in the 1480s: "current" books-fascicles and bound thick books, or "collections." During the course of the copying or combination of the "current" books into larger units, thick bound original books would be created, intended for long-term storage. Due to the variety of documents copied into the fascicles, the latter would become complexes—combinations of irregular types of documents. Partial testimony of this process lies in the plural use of the word "book" when describing one book of the Lithuanian Metrica. The scientists believed that the plural "books" was being used just to maintain the *status quo*, as the documents would be rewritten into one large book collection from several "current" books-fascicles and separate pages either way. However, the rewriting did not take place immediately, but with large intervals, and therefore a degree of chronological disorder appeared in the original books of the Lithuanian Metrica already prior to its copying at the end of the sixteenth century.[28] At the same time, it should be noted that the editors of Court Record Book 8 were not always justified in their criticism of Berezhkov's and Banionis's research conclusions regarding chronology, as they entered into this discussion basing their arguments on facts from the books of the Metrica dated

28 *Lietuvos Metrika (1533–1535): 8-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija)*, ed. I. Valikonytė, S. Lazutka, et al. (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1999), xiii–xviii.

after 1522 (Berezhkov's chosen boundary year)[29] and after 1506 (Banionis chosen boundary year).

Aliaksandr Hrusha did not agree with Banionis about the notaries' series of copies or with Pietkiewicz[30] about the existence of notaries' fascicles. He reconstructed a different order for how documents were transferred into the copied books, explaining a more general opinion about the formation of the books. A document created in the chancellery with the required signatures and seals would first of all be copied, and only rewritten from the register of copies into the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. This would be done by the chancellery scribe (*d'iak*), who oversaw the work of several notaries,[31] which is why Pietkiewicz's imagined personal scribes' fascicles could not have existed. This insight helped Hrusha understand the structure of the books in the Lithuanian Metrica during the period of research (mid-fifteenth–first half of the sixteenth centuries). The documents written onto separate pages could easily be put into chronological order before being copied, which is evident in almost a majority of the books. Incidentally, this conclusion can be reached from Hrusha's comment that from the 1480s, documents were not copied onto separate pages but into bundled fascicles, preserving their chronological order and eventually forming specific books.[32] The rewritten pages of the registers of copies stayed as bundles (sheaves).[33]

Hrusha did not apply this chartulary scheme or the resulting emergence of the books to the first few books of the Metrica dated to earlier than the 1480s. He examined the oldest Book of Inscriptions 3 and stated that it had been created in the 1480s from document synopses or registers. Before then, these document copies had been accumulated in bundled fascicles, that is, notaries would copy documents issued from the ruler's chancellery

29 The Belarusian researcher Aliaksandr Hrusha also noticed this, dedicating his dissertation to the history of the activities of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 1440s to the first half of the sixteenth century. See: A. I. Hrusha, *Kantsyliaryia Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga 40–kh gadou XV—pershoi palovy XVI st.* (Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2006), 105.

30 Ibid., 85–86.

31 Ibid., 84–86, 104–105.

32 Ibid., 104.

33 Hrusha's claims about the existence of intermediate copies on separate pages are questionable. See: ibid., 84–85. After all, the original document could have been entered into the book at once. Otherwise, a parallel Lithuanian Metrica would have been found at the chancellery. We would need more facts about this, while Hrusha provided only two, and not very convincing ones at that. See ibid., 86.

onto separate pages of the copy registers, and would keep them bundled according to the geographical markers of the documents.[34] The notaries did not adhere to any chronological sequence for the documents. This was how the chronological confusion in chartulary infiltrated the early, real books. Hrusha agreed with Berezhkov that documents in the bundled fascicles in their "pre-book" stage had been classified based on content, which is why these storage units sound very similar to Berezhkov's old, initial books. As far as Hrusha was concerned, from 1522 the genesis of the books was much simpler: Separate books of copied grants (gifting and assignment of possession) and court cases of a relatively similar content were compiled in a consecutive chronological order. As the precursors to the future copied books (late sixteenth century), or the original books of the Metrica, they did not appear all at once, but over a certain period of time. This is evident from the mixture of documents of different themes.[35] That means, the books would have remained bundled for some amount of time—as bundled fascicles and as separate pages, which is why they could have been mixed up or parts of the text might have become lost. This is characteristic of the chancellery's activities up to 1522. From the 1520s–1530s, the books started being bound rather more quickly—immediately, or after several years.

In his research dedicated to the reconstruction of the Book of Grants (Book 3) made by Grand Duke Casimir, Eugenijus Saviščevas offered an interesting opinion and reliable dates on the issue of the emergence of the books.[36] By dating Grand Duke Casimir's grants to 1440–1476, the researcher corrected Berezhkov's concept where he said that the number of grants issued by Casimir decreased after 1455 and that some of the documents could have been lost. These years are not actually strict boundaries, because the frequent grants from the beginning of Casimir's reign gradually grew less frequent, due to the domestic political situation, the ruler's complicated relations with Lithuania's lords and nobles, and later—due to his more frequent periods of residency in Poland.[37] Regarding the emergence of Book 3 of the Lithuanian Metrica, the author reliably identified indications of the editing of Casimir's old Book of Grants in 1476–1483 during the times of Chancellor Alekna Sudimantaitis (1478–1490), which was being reconstructed, and has now survived as part of the Books of Inscriptions 3

34 Ibid., 103.
35 Ibid., 114.
36 Saviščevas, "Suvaldyti chaosą," 115–174.
37 Ibid., 133.

and 4.[38] The purpose of the editing was to order the material according to the regions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, the editing process was either incomplete or the reordered pages of the books were somehow mixed up again. If this was the case, the author is more inclined to adhere to the second part of the condition. Saviščevas unreservedly agrees with Banionis's conclusions about the physical state of the earliest books of the Lithuanian Metrica—"a bundle of unbound, easily dismantled fascicles and pages"—until their rewriting in the late sixteenth century, and also identifies, in his view, several typical characteristics of this kind of book, "an unbound assembly of pages of a more or less identical format": Mixed-up pages, and entries attributed to one region were not concentrated in one place.[39] The scientifically original research methodology applied in his analysis of Book 3 of the Metrica does have its weak points. Another known copy of this book, kept in Kraków, which the author did not use testifies that in the sixteenth-century original book, there were more entries than in the copy he studied, meaning a *bound* "book" original of the old Book 3 did exist, of which two slightly different copies were made at around the same time—the current Kraków and Moscow versions.[40]

When examining the appearance of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica, scientists rarely took into account another important aspect of this establishment of writing culture—the increase in demand for written documents and the scale of their infiltration in society, especially the variety of forms in which this phenomenon caught on and some of its, we would now say, stranger features. Thus far, only Laimontas Karalius has taken a different approach, in terms of written and memory culture anthropology, and raised the question as to who the Metrica was intended for if it did not perform the role it was created for. He does not agree with the view that as they were being compiled, the books of the Lithuanian Metrica were immediately allocated a specific purpose for their use. The phrase "role they were created for" reflects an anachronistic approach, as the purpose category is associated with certain specific needs of society that change over time. He recommended envisaging the initiatives of the people of the time and their

38 Ibid., 134.

39 Ibid., 135.

40 I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Nieznane egzemplarze ksiąg Metryki Litewskiej z lat 1440–1518," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 90, no. 1 (1983): 119–122.

aim of creating the Metrica to suit their requirements.[41] This is revealed through the results of their activity—the emergence of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica and the dynamics in their purpose. Karalius raised three questions: 1. Who used the books? Under what conditions, and how? 2. What is a *book*? 3. A broader analysis of the concept of the book—as a unit of copied legal documentation intended as a record of provenance. This should be revealed through schemes of how the chancellery staff operated and their awareness. The resulting scientific interpretation would be adequate to gauge the realities of those times. Regarding question 1, the author reached the conclusion that the legal validity of the copied document is authorized, having been sanctioned by the ruler, and is realized in the notaries' books. The entered document is intended for the ruler's needs or for "posterity"—correctly and invariably (2). Books preserve memory. The book is a direct expression and confirmation of the ruler's authority (3). Karalius found that the ruler's authority in the books was anthropologically more important than the actual shape, appearance or compilation of the books. The case where in the times of Grand Duke Alexander Jagiellon, the ruler's authority was combined with references to the chancellery books was more of an exception than a rule. Documents, usually the ones that would be lost more often, could be certified without the chancellery books. The fact of their nonuse was related more to the figure of the ruler, as the most superior proponent of secular law, and his relations with his subjects. The nobility did not yet hand over the role of guardian of their rights and privileges to the Lithuanian Metrica books.[42] That means the emergence of the books should not dominate in the research of the grand duke's chancellery and chartulary—the products of written culture. During this kind of research, it is the dynamics of the process that should be taken into account. In the second half of the fifteenth century, there is a progression from the storage of copies of certain documents issued and received by the ruler for immediate access if needed, towards the entrenchment of the book's legal status and its functioning as the guarantee of the ruler's decisions, as in the times of Alexander Jagiellon.[43]

41 L. Karalius, "Lietuvos Metrikos knygų vaidmuo Aleksandro Jogailaičio kanceliarijoje (problemos aktualumas ir tyrimo perspektyvos)," in *Istorijos šaltinių tyrimai*, vol. 1, ed. by D. Antanavičius and D. Baronas (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2008), 181.

42 Ibid., 201–210. By 1547 the nobility understood and demanded easier access to privileges. See Hrusha, "'Khranit′ vechno,'" 44.

43 Karalius, "Lietuvos Metrikos knygų vaidmuo," 211.

A very strong, perhaps even determining argument in history of the search for the old books of the Lithuanian Metrica belongs to Darius Antanavičius. He found a list of original books that had been compiled on November 26, 1623 and published the results of his research.[44] The original books of the Lithuanian Metrica were somewhat different in physical appearance than the copied books history researchers know of today. When over 150 of the old books were rewritten in the last decade of the sixteenth century—for various reasons, eleven were not rewritten (researchers' attention turned particularly to the current Book of Inscriptions 9)[45]—the new ones attained an immaculate appearance: neat binding, hard covers, a standard format, titles given to documents and files in the books, and registers (contents) at the beginning of most of the books based on those titles. The list of original books of the Lithuanian Metrica identified by Antanavičius listed 148 storage units called books. However, the list of rewritten copied books from the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania declared on March 11, 1623 by Genadii Golenchenka which were transferred over to the new chancellor, Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł, had 189 books.[46] That means, several dozen more copied books of the Metrica appeared. This inconsistency has a reasonable explanation. When Antanavičius compared the original Metrica books with the copied books, he found that one old book could have "turned into" two or four new ones. Also, we should keep in mind the common practice of chancellery leaders, the chancellor and his deputy (from 1569) and other officials, to delay in returning (transferring) books to the ruler's chancellery for storage.[47] In this way, some of the original books that had not been returned on time were never rewritten.

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44 Antanavičius, "Originalių Lietuvos Metrikos XVI a. knygų sąrašas." *Istorijos šaltinių tyrimai* 4 (2012): 157–186.

45 N. G. Berezhkov, "9–ia kniga zapisei Litovskoi Metrikim," in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel′stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1989), 32–63; K. Pietkiewicz, "Księga 9 wpisow," 11–35; A. I. Hrusha, "Kniga Metryki 9 (1511–1516) i rearganizatsyia kantsylaryi VKL 1516–1523/23 gg.," *Vestsi Belaruskaga dziarzhaunaga pedagagichnaga universiteta* 3 (2001): 164–171.

46 G. Ia. Galenchanka (as Golenchenko, G. Ia.), "Neizvestnyi reestr Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo v sobranii P. P. Dubrovskogo," in *Kniga v Belorussii: knigovedenie, istochniki, bibliographiia* (Minsk: AN BSSR, TsNB im. Ia. Kolasa, 1981), 27–41; idem, "Reestr knig Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo 1623 g.," in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Izdatel′stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1989), 336–374.

47 Antanavičius, "Originalių," 161.

Those books that were ready for having copied documents entered into them have the clearest origins, that is, empty pages bound into a block that was consistently filled with the necessary material. The list of original books of the Metrica has two comments about these kinds of books: "Another book has not been filled" (mid-sixteenth century)—referring to the current Book 526;[48] the current (1550–1551) books 240?, 242?, 243 have these comments: "there is also another book, where files have also started being entered, but it is unfinished—hardly a third has been filled."[49] Unfortunately, there are only two such books, yet they do confirm scientists' assumptions that in the grand duke's chancellery, documents could have been copied into prepared bound books.[50] On the other hand, we cannot determine the scale of this practice.

The appearance of the other 146 original books of the Lithuanian Metrica that were described was quite varied. Twenty-eight were with defects—pages or whole quires were missing. Chronologically, the greatest number of such losses occurred mostly in books from the second half of the fifteenth–middle of the sixteenth centuries. Immaculately preserved books have reached our days from the reign of King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stephen Bathory (1576–1586).

The most commonly noticed defect was missing pages from the beginning or the end of a book. This had happened to twenty-one of the original books of the Lithuanian Metrica out of the twenty-eight with defects. The description of the condition of one book gives an excellent reason for how these losses occurred: the unsuitable conditions in which books were stored. The original of the current copied Book 250 (1554–1559) had the following comment: "Court record book of the Vilnius palatine [. . .], the back cover of this book has fallen off, and there are ten missing pages, and twenty-nine that have been affected by mold and are no longer legible."[51] This comment reveals that the book was bound and had a cover, though not all the books necessarily had this traditional "book" quality. Let us again return to the original precursor to copied Book 250 of the Lithuanian Metrica, specifically, its cover. In Polish, it would be described using the term *kompatura*. This could have applied not only to a traditional

48 Ibid., 171 [no. 37].

49 Ibid., 180 [no. 140, 141].

50 It was already Berezhkov who noted that the books could have contained empty pages into which later documents would be entered. See Berezhkov, *Litovskaia Metrika*, 50–51 (note 56, page 161).

51 Antanavičius, "Originalių," 179 [no. 132].

hard cover, but also to a piece of parchment or thicker piece of paper, in which the book block would have been wrapped for storage. The original Metrica book, current copied Book 47 could have been wrapped up in this manner: "both sides are tattered, it has no beginning and no end, and there are pages missing from the middle, in green parchment."[52] Of course, this is only a possibility, as its validity is weakened by the comments about other books which undoubtedly had soft leather covers—take, for example, the comment about the original of the current copied Book 565: "Three registers from Orsha Castle, one in leather, the other two in sexterns";[53] or the fragments of information about one nonsurviving book: "Four file drafts *(spraw)* of various content in red leather . . ."[54] Some of the original books had no covers whatsoever. The authors of the description made on November 23, 1623 firstly highlighted that a book consisted of "sextern" fascicles (fascicles, book quires, unbound books, pages folded six times) and give their quantity in the book, that is, the book was not bound. There are only two small books that look like this.[55] There is not even the slightest mention of book covers for a majority of the original books of the Lithuanian Metrica in the list. We are led to believe that they did have covers, as the chancellery officials diligently marked all the books that stood out from the whole set. So, besides the discussed books with soft covers or without, or perhaps those that were wrapped in parchment (paper), there are also some that were very neat: one had a wooden cover (perhaps even with metal clasps), another one had been rebound. These books are attributed to the current copied Book 7 and Book 12.[56] The descriptions of the book covers confirm that the original book blocks were bound, and this could have been more of a rule than an exception. This conclusion is supported by another description of a storage unit of particular appearance, which has incidentally not survived. The quote from the list lets us imagine what it was like: "Four file drafts *(spraw)* of various content in red leather and other various fragments on pages, in sexterns, compiled into one unit, bound, and stamped."[57] This was a bundle of unbound documents. That means, there were some unbound original books, though very few.

52 Ibid., 175 [no. 94].
53 Ibid., 174 [no. 75].
54 Ibid., 175 [no. 95].
55 Ibid., 170 [no. 33], 175 [no. 95].
56 Ibid., 168 [no. 5, 10].
57 Ibid., 175 [no. 95].

Another question regards the format of the original Lithuanian Metrica books—staff from the chancellery headed by Lew Sapieha provided a standard *in quarto* format for their copied books (a folio sheet would be folded twice to produce four leaves, or eight pages). Therefore, researchers usually measure eighteen to twenty centimeters for the horizontal edge and over thirty centimeters for the vertical edge of the current copied book blocks. But, did the *in quarto* format also dominate in the originals? For example, the sextern, where a sheet would be folded into three parts implies a different (square?) format for the unbound book block set aside for storage. The notary's entries mentioning that four of the original books are *in quarto*[58] leads us to doubt whether certain formats were set as standard. Then, some would be in the larger *in folio* format, or in the smaller *in octavo* format. The notary gave the wrong description of the format. In actual fact, the smaller *in octavo* format (eight leaves, sixteen pages) had to be indicated, as the surviving original books of the Metrica that were not rewritten are *in quarto*, like the copied books. Another fact supports this claim. A second copy of the original Book 3 of the Metrica kept at the Czartoryski Library (Kraków), like its "sister," the copied book now kept in Moscow, was created in the late sixteenth century.[59] Sułkowska-Kuriasiowa who described the copy in Kraków offered a very important observation. She guessed that when copying down this version of Book 3, the notary tried to position the text onto the same pages as in the original Book 3.[60] That means the original book format might have survived. The format of the Czartoryski Library's copied Book 3 is indeed smaller than the Moscow version: 16 x 20.4 cm.[61] It is in the *in octavo* format.

We can summarise that the original books of the Lithuanian Metrica came in several formats (*in quarto* did dominate nonetheless), some had no covers, there were even some unbound examples. The books that were rewritten in the late sixteenth century were given, let's say, an ideal appearance: one bound block format and a fine finish, with leather-bound hardcovers.

Researchers of the history of the Lithuanian Metrica essentially agree that in the beginning, when the Lithuanian Metrica was in the "preoriginal bound book" condition, it formed as small units of copied documents,

58 Ibid., 167 [no. 2], 168 [no. 9], 169 [no. 16], 173 [no. 71].
59 Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Nieznane egzemplarze," 120.
60 Ibid., 122.
61 The authors thank their colleague Mindaugas Klovas for the dimensions.

registers, fascicles, bundles, "books," notaries' series and separate documents. They could have been edited, recompiled, mixed up, and parts of text could probably have gone missing. The first document copies—short registers—started being managed at the beginning of the reign of Grand Duke Casimir, in the 1440s. From around 1476, the precursors to the current surviving copied books must have appeared in the chancellery—the original books. Document collection and their long-term storage in the chancellery of the Lithuanian ruler turned the whole process of complete or abridged formal copy-making down the West European path of chartulary. It was from these beginnings that the books of copies of the ruler's chancellery—the Lithuanian Metrica—formed. The old units of copied documents (registers, fascicles, bundles) known as "books" were gradually assembled into blocks of various sizes, which went on to form the original books, meanwhile, the other new books were compiled from the "current" copies that kept being created as part of the chancellery's activities. Researchers' opinions on the form of the early books differ: a) a regular book created as needed; b) the accepted type of bound blocks of varying volume; c) relatively stable yet unbound bundles meant for long-term storage. All researchers have noted the variety in management, grouping, and compilation of the Metrica books, which was associated with different accountable figures (rulers, chancellors and notaries) and the modernization (bureaucratization) of the state's governance. In this regard, a distinct period of change in the early history of the Lithuanian Metrica would be 1506 (the beginning of the reign of Sigismund the Old) and 1522 (when the appointed chancellors changed), from which time the books started being handled in an increasingly neater and clearer manner. There may be several models for the appearance of the books, so undoubtedly, specific answers to the Metrica's genesis and the initial existence of the books should present themselves after an analysis of each older book. The examination of separate books is an unquestionable topic of codicological research of the Lithuanian Metrica, easily realized through the publication of the books themselves.

Researchers, having become better acquainted with the studies conducted by their colleagues, should not have expected one correct answer to solve the confusing question of "the appearance and compilation of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica." On the other hand, at least until 2011–2012 when Antanavičius identified and published the list of original books of the Lithuanian Metrica, the hope of finding a general model explaining

their emergence could have been justified. However, after his publications, a paradox presented itself—all the scientists' conclusions and comments turned out to be more or less accurate.

During the course of their debates, for some reason researchers did not notice one important historical source from the books of one of the other state institutional offices. It could be that an instruction in the Second Statute of Lithuania (1566) on the proper management of the land court case books came from earlier chartulary experience: Chapter IV, Article 11[62] contains an interesting clause: Upon the end of a district (*powiat*) land court tenure and having performed the other foreseen services for each side in the lawsuit, the court books must be collected, *złozyc*, and kept in a strong chest. This kind of court book sounds similar to the smaller block of unbound fascicles. It is very important that the plural of the term "books" be applied only to those constituent units, rather than to an assembled block. However, the block may also be referred to as "books," because it consists of these "books of fascicles." As we know from the history of the courts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, these blocks were later bound as one book and kept in the court archive.

62 "Pomniki prawa Litewskiego z XVI wieku," *Archiwum komisji prawniczej*, vol. 7, ed. F. Piekosiński (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1900).

Chapter 3

The Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Lithuanian Metrica in the Fifteenth–First Half of the Sixteenth Centuries

Thus far in historiography, more attention has gone to the early formation and initial activities of the chancellery (early fifteenth–mid-sixteenth centuries),[1] while the history of this institution in the second half of the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries has hardly been studied at all.[2] Our knowledge of the holders of clerical positions in the early period,[3] the situation

1 J. Bardach, "O praktyce kancelarii litewskiej za Zygmunta I Starego," *Studia z ustroju i prawa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, XIV–XVII w.* (Warszawa–Białystok: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 351–378; Hrusha, *Kantsyliariia*, 2006.

2 A. Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy WKL w latach 1569–1765," *Lietuvos Metrika: 1991–1996 metų tyrinėjimai* (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1998), 256.

3 M. Liubavskii, *Litovsko–russkii seim* (Moscow: Imperatorskoe obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete, 1900), 386–393; K. Jablonskis, "Lietuvos rusiškųjų aktų diplomatika," in *Istorija ir jos šaltiniai*, ed. V. Merkys (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1979), 219–298; A. Dubonis, "Raštininkas," in *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kultūra. Tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai*, ed. V. Ališauskas, L. Jovaiša, M. Paknys, R. Petrauskas, E. Raila (Vilnius: Aidai, 2001), 574–587.

of the chancellor in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,[4] and the particularities of chartulary in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[5] has all been systematized. Episodes from the chancellery's bureaucratic structure, the importance of clientele-backed connections[6] to enter the chancellery, and mechanisms for the realization of group and personal interests are revealed in studies about the figures who worked in this institution (from chancellors to clerks). The research of specific personalities has not been equal: Monographs or limited biographical studies of almost all of the leaders of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania have been released, while the lack of sources means little is known about the careers of the lower-ranked officials. However, the simultaneous holding of several offices and the convolution of public and private interests means it is important to distinguish the functions of the chancellor and vice-chancellor in the chancellery.

Thus, presenting a comprehensive picture of the institution whose activities gave rise to the Lithuanian Metrica, its handling and safekeeping during the entire period of its existence (fifteenth–eighteenth centuries) is a difficult task indeed. Numerous reorganizations and significant changes characterize its development. The composition of its staff, their competency, and functions all changed. This is especially evident in the activities of the most important figures in the chancellery—the chancellor and vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. From the middle of the fifteenth century (1449) until the demise of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, we know of twenty-two chancellors appointed by the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and several other individuals who either temporarily held these offices or were titled as nominal chancellors for a special mission.[7] When the office of vice-chancellor was established in

4 N. A. Skep′an, "Instytut kantslerstva VKL pershai palovy XVI st., iak adzin s asnounykh instytutau dziarzhaunai ulady," *Vesnik Grodzenskaga dziarzhaunaga universiteta im. Ianki Kupaly. Gistoryia. Filasofiia. Palotalogiia. Satsyialogiia* 3 (2007): 45–50.

5 Jakubowski, "Archiwum państwowe," 1–18; W. Mikulski, "Dokumenty z archiwum Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w archiwum Warszawskim Radziwiłłów," *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica* 7 (1997): 71–83.

6 R. Ragauskienė, "XVI a. ikireforminio Vilniaus pilies teismo raštininko ir Lietuvos Metrikos metrikanto karjera: Motiejaus Savickio (apie 1530–apie 1581) atvejis," in *Inveniens quero. Ieškoti, rasti, nenurimti. Mokslo straipsnių rinkinys, skirtas profesoriui habil. dr. Algirdui Gaižučiui 70-mečio proga*, ed. G. Blažienė, S. Grigaravičiūtė and A. Ragauskas (Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, 2011): 566–584.

7 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. H. Lulewicz and A. Rachuba (Kórnik: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1994), 51–53, no.

1565–1566, twenty-three people held this position until 1795.[8] At different periods in history, the situation and functions of the chancellor and his deputy at the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the method of organizing work in this institution, varied quite significantly.

The discussion of the history of the activities performed by the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania can be divided into the following three periods: 1) fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century (from its formation until its reorganization); 2) the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and reforms in the middle of the sixteenth century until 1623 (from the Radziwiłłs, Black and Red, until the end of Lew Sapieha's activities); 3) the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its staff from the 1620s until the eighteenth century.

The Origins of the Chancellery: Vytautas's Office

Some significant changes occurred in the development of the chancellery in the fifteenth–first half of the sixteenth centuries: a state chancellery formed out of the office of the Lithuanian grand duke in the second half of the fifteenth century. In this period, the significance of the institution of the ruler underwent a fundamental change, in terms of the competencies demanded of this post, and the number of staff in the chancellery also gradually increased. The number of staff started to decrease from the 1510s–1520s.

The origins of the formation of the state chancellery is associated with the rule of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas (1392–1430). Formally, from 1401, but practically, even earlier—from the Astravyets Agreement of 1392, under favorable political conjunctures, Vytautas managed to organize a strong ruler's office on his own terms, which had the potential to grow into a state chancellery. The experience of the Polish chancellery that had already fostered the traditions of writing for several centuries was an important element: For example, the surviving documentation created by the chancellery of the King of Poland Władysław Jagiellon consists of about 2,000 Latin, Ruthenian, and German documents.[9] Two sections were

207–229. Fedka Kozlowski, who was included on the list (no. 209), was the chancellor of the dismissed Lithuanian grand duke, Švitrigaila.

8 Ibid., 146–149.

9 I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Dokumenty królewskie i ich funkcja w państwie polskim za Andegawenów i pierwszych Jagiellonów: 1370–1444* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1977), 44–45.

created in the office of the Lithuanian grand duke—the Latin-German and the Ruthenian. Documents intended for foreign diplomacy would be issued in these languages, and if required they could also be prepared in the Tatar language. Documentation in German was particularly widespread; the Teutonic Order was sent documents translated from Czech into German that were most likely prepared by the notary Bartlomiej from Gorka. Documents prepared in Latin and Ruthenian made up an important part of the stream of documentation in Vytautas's office. Only a small fraction is believed to have survived—just over 200 documents.[10] The more important acts and privileges could have already started being stored in the treasury of Trakai Castle, probably in the island castle in Lake Galvė.

Even though the volume of work at this office was quite large, the position of chancellor had not yet been established. Mikołaj Małdrzyk (†1439) was only referred to as "chancellor and secretary" (*cantzler und secretarium*) after eighteen years in service in the grand duke's office as the ruler's secretary towards the very end of Vytautas's reign. This was how the secretary of Emperor Sigismund von Luxemburg Kaspar Sligka identified Małdrzyk, who headed a legation mission, in a letter written in 1429 in his ruler's name to the master of the Teutonic Order, Paul von Rusdorf.[11] In this case, the referral could have been meant to accentuate the importance of the legation and the secretary's leadership, rather than the actual post Małdrzyk held as leader of the chancellery.[12] On the other hand, Małdrzyk's participation in a legation mission to King Jogaila in 1429 on the matter of Vytautas's coronation together with the lords of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Rumbaudas Valmantaitis and Jonas Goštautas points to the strong position of this official in the ruler's court. Perhaps, if it weren't for Vytautas's death, Małdrzyk might have become the formal leader of the office on its way into developing into the state chancellery. What is certain is that he, just like Mikołaj Cebulka (worked 1407–1430), who served as the ruler's secretary and notary in Vytautas's office for twenty-three years, or Mikołaj Sepenski (worked 1410–1430), who acted as secretary for over

10 M. Kosman, "Kancelaria wielkiego księcia Witolda," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 14 (1969): 96–113; R. Čapaitė, *Gotikinis kursyvas Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Vytauto raštinėje* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2007), 304.

11 17 04 1429, Pressburg, Sigismund von Luxemburg to Paul von Rusdorf, in *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni ducis Lithuaniae: 1376–1430*, ed. A. Prochaska (Cracoviae: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Crac., 1882), 822.

12 M. Kosman, "Małdrzyk Mikołaj," in *Polski słownik biograficzny* 19 (Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich i wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974), 429.

twenty years, stood out from the other personnel in terms of his position. They were most likely superior staff in the office: They controlled the general office activities, edited and stamped documents, and went on diplomatic missions. The transfer of verbal announcements and other diplomatic tasks was a commonly accepted function of medieval notaries and secretaries. However, the competencies of these officials never really "went beyond" the boundaries of the office. They did not become state officials who were incorporated into the structure of the Council of Lords.

The sources identify the staff of Vytautas's office as *schreiber*, *secretarius, notarius* and *scriba*. According to the working data at hand, the office staff of the grand duke of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania consisted of around fourteen people, starting with Janusz, the first notary mentioned in treasury accounts dating to 1394. An analysis of the writing on documents (the ductus, letter variations, décor elements) distinguished the writing of thirty-two notaries in the grand duke's office. The writing of some of them (twenty-one) appears only episodically, while the writing of others (eleven) is evident over several years and in different documents, or is repeatedly encountered year after year. The latter undoubtedly belonged to the institution and wrote the ruler's letters and documents, and made copies of them. We have not been able to determine how many of the notaries whose writing was encountered only episodically were from the ruler's circle or another affiliation.[13] It is unclear how many people worked in the office at one time, especially since duties were not accurately identified—the same person could be called both a notary and a secretary, while there is no information at all about scribes from the times of Vytautas, but they would have been among the thirty-two notaries distinguished based on their handwriting. This suggests that there was not really any significant specialization among the staff in the office. We can only guess as to the hierarchy that existed among the notaries. They were probably divided into higher-ranked positions, such as the secretary who oversaw the lower-ranked staff—the clerks and scribes.[14]

Poles and Germans featured prominently among the office staff we know of. Notaries and scribes of local origins prepared the Ruthenian documents. The office of the Lithuanian ruler immediately took on a secular

13 Čapaitė, *Gotikinis kursyvas*, 433.

14 G. Błaszczyk, "Witold a polacy," in *Praeities pėdsakais. Skiriama profesoriaus daktaro Zigmanto Kiaupos 65-mečiui*, ed. E. Rimša et al. (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2007), 56.

nature. The context of European chancelleries in this regard was varied: Members of the clergy worked in Western offices in the Middle Ages, while in Central Europe, for example, in the offices in the Romanian duchies, secular personnel staffed the chancelleries.[15] Even though there were quite a few foreigners working in Vytautas's office, who tried to implement Western formulae in documentation, their activities were limited due to the lower level of written culture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The most important task of secretaries, notaries, and scribes was to prepare documents for use abroad, and less so—for domestic use. Copies of the more important documents were only made sporadically, and only brief summaries were made of the documents being issued. We can compare these activities with Central Europe, for example, the chancellery of the king of Hungary, where copies of all the received and issued documents were made on a regular basis from 1365, the "royal books" had been kept in order, and at the turn of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, the verso side of documents not only bore markings indicating their entry into registers, but also the names of the notaries who had registered the documents.[16]

So, even though the activities developed in Vytautas's office in the beginning of the fifteenth century until 1430 were quite strong, it would nonetheless be difficult to identify it as a chancellery. The chancellery's functions were broader than those performed in the office, which was mostly concerned with document preparation. The chancellery is understood as a stationary institution headed by the chancellor, where documents were prepared and edited, and most importantly, systematically registered and stored. The scale of these institutions also differed. It seems that the activities of Vytautas's office were overemphasized somewhat, claiming that the office created by this grand duke "completed its formation into a stable institution."[17] The office from Vytautas's times did not quite comply with the concept of a chancellery.[18] It probably did not have a regular location

15 S. M. Kashtanov, *Issledovaniia po istorii kniazheskikh kantseliarii srednevekovoi Rusi* (Moscow: Nauka, 2014), 405.

16 K. Szende, "The Uses of Archives in Medieval Hungary," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. A. Adamska and M. Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 115.

17 *Lietuvos istorija. Nauji horizontai: dinastija, visuomenė, valstybė. Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė 1386–1529 m.*, vol. 4, ed. J. Kiaupienė and R. Petrauskas (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2009), 272.

18 For example, according to the sixteenth-century concept, the chancellery meant the place, or room where officials prepared and edited documents, letters, and other legal

for the preparation of documents. It concentrated primarily on the functions typical of an office—the preparation of documents, especially those needed for foreign diplomacy. Meagre attention was given to their registration and storage—it is no surprise that Vytautas's letters and documents have survived mostly in the archives of foreign countries. This institution had no formal leader as such, with clearly defined competencies, nor was there any specialization among the staff who also changed quite frequently. Service in this office was but an episode in the career of many a notary. A number of foreigners would work there for just a few years before returning to their earlier position, for example, the notary Jan Lichtenwald who served Vytautas from 1407 returned to the chancellery of the grand master in 1409. He could have even been spying for the Order.[19] The fact that there was no continuity is evident from the departure of secretaries and notaries from Lithuania after the grand duke's death.

Thus, the office created in the early fifteenth century was a ducal, but not a state institution. Vytautas's heirs started creating their own, albeit smaller-scale offices. The analogous institutions of grand dukes Švitrigaila and Žygimantas Kęstutaitis, who were not as active in foreign policy as Vytautas, were smaller. We know of several notaries who worked under Švitrigaila, though only when he had lost his position as the grand duke of Lithuania. Ruthenians most probably dominated here. In the years 1433–1437, Švitrigaila's documents were prepared by: Senka (1433), Kosila (1433–1437), Gavril Zerla (1434), Snaksar (1436–1438), and Popko (1437). Prince Boris Glinski, who belonged to the Kiev aristocracy, was mentioned as having acted as Švitrigaila's chancellor and vice-chancellor in 1437–1438.[20] Later, from 1444, Fedka Kozlowski became this duke's chancellor.[21] We also know of several clerks and secretaries of Grand Duke Žygimantas Kęstutaitis (1432–1440)—Saul from Tvardov and Mikołaj Błażejowski.[22]

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acts, and would be headed by the chancellor. *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 10 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1976), 61.

19 Čapaitė, *Gotikinis kursyvas*, 301.

20 S. Polekhov, *Nasledniki Vitovta. Dinasticheskaia voina v Vvelikom kniazhestve Litovskom v 30-e gody XV veka* (Moscow: Indrik, 2015), 423.

21 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 51.

22 Ibid., 120.

The Creation of the Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Emergence of the Office of Chancellor During the Reign of Casimir Jagiellon

The office of the Lithuanian ruler became a state chancellery during the reign of Grand Duke of Lithuania (1440) and King of Poland (1447) Casimir. As the value of the document grew, the volume of written production also increased. This in turn necessitated searching for more suitable chartulary measures. The realization that once it fell into the hands of the recipient, the ruler's document would immediately disappear from the institution's field of vision became a concern. If the need arose, it was impossible to check the contents of an already-issued document, there were more opportunities to distort or exploit the situation. Primarily to achieve some control and better management, copies of issued documents started being made in the ruler's office in a more systematic way from the second half of the fifteenth century. The entirety of copies of original documents, unresolved court cases "for posterity", witnesses' testimonies, and so forth, started being called the "ruler's" or "chancellery books" based on the Polish chancellery's example, eventually becoming the "Lithuanian Metrica", or "Metrica books". As can be gathered from the surviving so-called Book of Casimir's Privileges, whose acts date to 1440–1442, the very beginning of Casimir Jagiellon's reign, the registration of acts was already a well-known practice though not yet a rule.[23] A consistent management of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica occurred when authority passed from Casimir Jagiellon to Alexander Jagiellon.[24] All of these documents were kept in the treasury or the chancellery itself. This was how the state archive started to form, with its early acts, their copies, and document registration entries.[25]

As the functions of the ruler's office expanded—in addition to document preparation, now it also engaged in the systematic creation of their copies, their collection, and storage—the nature of the institution itself also underwent a natural progression. It became stationary, and at the beginning of Casimir Jagiellon's reign in 1441 a formal position—the

23 Saviščevas, "Suvaldyti chaosą," 120.

24 Pietkiewicz indicated 1492 as a year when the books of the Lithuanian Metrica were, without a doubt, systematically managed. See his *Paleografia ruska* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015), 331.

25 I. Valikonytė and S. Lazutka, preface to *Lietuvos Metrikos studijos. Mokymo priemonė*, ed. I. Valikonytė (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1998), 7.

chancellor—was created. The first chancellor was the magnate of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Sudivojus Valmantaitis. Incidentally, on January 3, 1441, in a document issued by Casimir Jagiellon in Vilnius regarding provisions for the Pabaiskas Church, he was not identified as the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*ad relationem magnifici Sandiwogii protunc cancellarii*),[26] but was only referred to as the ruler's chancellor. However, the high position this figure held in the state already implies the increased significance of this post. From this time onwards, the position of chancellor became very attractive to Lithuania's magnates, so much so that until the end of the sixteenth century, only representatives of the upper nobility took turns one after another to take up this particular office. In 1444, it is believed that Sudivojus handed over his chancellorship to his nephew Mykolas Kęsgailaitis (Michał Kieżgajło). As a result of the increased importance of this position, Mikołaj Błażejowski, the future bishop of Przemyśl so highly promoted by Casimir Jagiellon, and then still the acting Vilnius provost, the ruler's clerk, and secretary, never became the leader of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. When Błażejowski headed a legation mission to Pope Nicholas V in 1447, he was referred to as "chancellor of the Lithuanian duchy."[27] However, as in the case of Małdrzyk, this phrase might have been added to emphasize the importance of the mission, and not as a description of Błażejowski's actual position. Most probably, the upper nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania opposed the appointment of a Pole, more so, a member of the clergy, to this position, not wanting to let the chancellorship out of its sight.

The status of this office increased with the tradition that formed from 1458 to combine the duties of the chancellor and the palatine of Vilnius. Perhaps this was a way of increasing the chancellor's salary. Thus, the chancellor "broke out" of the institution he headed and became the highest state official in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. His competency in the field of chartulary was not as important as it had been among earlier office superiors. Some of the chancellor's functions had to be taken over by his deputy—the great notary (*pisarz*) (the first known person in this role was

26 *Kodeks diplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej*, vol. 1, ed. J. Fijałek and W. Semkowicz (Kraków: Komisja Historyczna Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1932), 191.

27 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, no. 208–210, 51. To read more about Casimir Jagiellon's protection of the future bishop, see J. Kwolek, "Błażejowski Mikołaj," *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936), 131.

Jokūbas, mentioned in 1476).[28] The legation service also grew stronger within the chancellery environment, which took on increasingly more state governance functions. This meant that the institution gradually developed from one that had been under the sole jurisdiction of the ruler into a state institution. Yet, a number of ill-defined aspects remained. Even though the work of notaries was overseen not only by the head of this institution, but also other members of the Council of Lords, or court officials (basically, marshals), notaries continued to be called the ruler's notaries (*pisarz*), so formally they retained their role as servants within the ruler's court.

The first figure to have combined the duties of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Vilnius palatine was the aforementioned Kęsgailaitis (chancellor in 1444–1476; Vilnius palatine in 1459–1476). This individual can be considered as the first chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who was expected to serve in this position for life and belonged to the Council of Lords. Known for his influence in state life, the magnate was also actively involved in preparing the ruler's documents. At his order, a number of privileges made by Casimir Jagiellon to the nobility were compiled and signed by him, so there are grounds to call the Book of Privileges of Casimir the chancellery "book" of Mykolas Kęsgailaitis.[29] Among some of his first more important tasks was the preparation of the land privilege of 1447—one main act which entrenched the wide-ranging rights of the Lithuanian nobility and guaranteed Lithuania's sovereignty and territorial integrity in relations with Poland.[30] The document's closing protocol indicates:

> Compiled and given by Mykolas Kęsgailaitis from Deltuva, the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in Vilnius, on Tuesday, the day of St. Sigmund himself, in 1457 the Year of our Lord [the privilege was confirmed that year and renewed, erasing the old date of 1447]. Written by the hand of notary Martynas from Łuski, who participated in its assignation.[31]

28 Hrusha, *Kantsylaryia*, 54.

29 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 3*, 38–41, etc. For an opinion on the book, see Saviščevas, "Suvaldyti chaosą," 131.

30 Z. Spieralski, "Kieżgajło Michał," *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 12 (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1966–1967), 446.

31 *Lietuvos TSR istorijos šaltiniai*, *t. 1: Feodalinis laikotarpis*, ed. K. Jablonskis, J. Jurginis and J. Žiugžda (Vilnius: Mintis, 1955), 134.

Having earned distinction for his influence on the state towards the end of Casimir's reign, the long-serving deputy cupbearer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and regent in Hrodno and Polotsk, Alekna Sudimantaitis (†1490), was identified as the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from November 1477. Several months earlier—from March—he had already started serving as the Vilnius palatine as well.[32] In the cases of both Kęsgaila and Sudimantaitis, the combination of both positions was not accidental. Casimir Jagiellon spent more time residing in Poland, meaning an actual ruler's regent, a main political leader, needed to be allocated in Lithuania. When Sudimantaitis took over these positions from his predecessor, he established this doubling of duties as tradition. The Radziwiłłs who were relatives of the chancellor, made use of this situation, starting with Mikołaj Radziwiłł (†1510) who became the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Vilnius palatine in 1492, and had married Zofija Manvydaitė, the sister of Sudimantaitis's wife, Jadvyga. Radziwiłł transferred his position to his eldest son, Mikołaj Radziwiłł (†1521–1522).

The main functions of the chancellery from the times of Casimir Jagiellon—to handle the documents of the ruler and the Council of Lords—were performed by specialists: notaries who looked after the preparation of documents and signed them, as well as scribes who rewrote various documents. The number of staff had not yet stabilized at this time. During fifty years of this institution's development, the number of lowest-ranked staff grew considerably (or they became better known). At this period, there were fifteen Ruthenian notaries (Ivan Kuszleiko, Logwin, Vasilij Kopotis, Mikita, Janushka, et al.), only three Latin notaries (Mikołaj Błażejowski, Martynas from Luskai, and a practically unknown Martynas), and twenty-two chancellery scribes (*dyaks*), including Vasilij Ljubich, Ivanka, Paweł, Gorbaszicz, Bielyj, Aleshka, Andrei Sokolowski, Fedka Grigoryevich, Suszczas, Ljulia, Fedka Vladyka, Fedka Senkowicz, Fedka Aleszkawicz, Vaska Daroszkawicz, Tunkel, Manecz Kalusowski, and others.[33] The notaries and scribes from the Ruthenian section of the chancellery were originally from the Volhynia and Smolensk lands, while the Latin section was mostly of Polish origins.

32 M. Antoniewicz, *Protoplaści książąt Radziwiłłów. Dzieje mitu i meandry historiografii* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2011), 129.

33 Hrusha, *Kantsyliaryia*, 140–165.

Reorganization of the Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: Chancellor Albertas Goštautas

Important structural and function-defining changes regarding the chancellery staff occurred during the reign of Alexander Jagiellon and Sigismund the Old. During this period, the scale of work performed by this institution increased sharply, and the functions of its staff expanded. The impulse for this change was primarily the increasing significance of documents in society and its consistent growth. In the years 1492–1506 alone, the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania issued at least 2,200 documents, or around 160 documents annually. A state document archive—the Lithuanian Metrica—ultimately developed from this documentation. The goal was to make the Metrica books a kind of treasury of the ruler's legal "memory," even though far from all the copies of chancellery-issued documents or their synopses were inscribed as they should have been.[34] At the same time, a set of official writings was being formed, which set down legal regulations for matters important to society. For example, the ruler's secretary (*pisarz*) Erazm Ciołek started managing the income and expenditures books of the ruler's court, a military census was made in 1528 (lists of the nobility's war duties), and later there were the regulations of Sigismund the Old for estate managers in the palatinates, various inventories, and so forth. Ultimately, in 1529, the First Statute of Lithuania was compiled. Diplomatic correspondence also intensified at this time. Diplomatic legation books started being kept in the chancellery in the late fifteenth century, and improvements were made to diplomatic chartulary practices. Besides the texts coming from Lithuanian legations, documents received from foreign countries also started being entered into the legation books. During the period when the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Mikołaj Radziwiłł, was in charge of the institution, some of the material related to foreign policy was also entered into the Lithuanian Metrica.[35]

Chancellery staff actively participated in diplomatic legations. Some representatives, such as Ivan Sapieha, Bogusz Bogowitinowicz, Adam Jakubowicz, Venclovas Mikalojaitis (Michalon Lituanus), Andrzej

34 K. Pietkiewicz, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka: Studia nad dziejami państwa i społeczeństwa na przełomie XV i XVI wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1995), 40–41.

35 *Lietuvos istorija*, vol. 4, 142.

Mackowicz, and others, participated in seventy-three foreign legations in the period 1492–1546. The most senior notaries (secretaries) also collected state revenue leasehold reports, sometimes the duties themselves, they collected taxes such as the silver (coin) tax, and participated in state domain revisions.[36] However, no greater specialization existed among the notaries at this time. The same figures prepared and wrote out grant documents, court notices, and other documents. Only the most senior notaries were entrusted with the preparation of diplomatic notices. The position of treasury notary started being mentioned from the 1510s, who was accountable to the land treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

In the chancellery, even its leader had a considerable workload to handle. In 1494–1497, the chancellor was the main intermediary in passing on the ruler's orders for document preparation. Around sixty percent of all the documentation at the time was issued at the chancellor's behest. The years 1501–1506 were important, as this was when the influence of magnate Mikhail Glinski, a magnate under the protection of Alexander Jagiellon, increased markedly. He, and not the chancellor, issued eighty-five percent of all documents, though later on the situation did stabilize. The chancellor was responsible for the effective organization of the activities of the ruler and Council of Lords. Lawsuits and complaints received by the chancellery would be passed on to the ruler and members of the Council, and correspondence would be summarized, court documents would be prepared, and so forth. The ruler would transmit important orders about the titling of the grand prince of Muscovy, the destruction of documents that had lost their legal validity (*sodranje*), the issue of various copies, and so forth. The chancellor was responsible for ensuring these kinds of orders were implemented.[37]

A rather large staff was assembled to carry out these intensive activities. To our knowledge, in 1492–1548 a total of sixteen Ruthenian notaries worked in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (four of whom were Casimir Jagiellon's notaries), seventeen Latin notaries and forty-five scribes (*dyak*).[38] However, far from all the notaries carried out just this work exclusively. A number of them who also held other positions at the same time did not participate in the preparation of documents in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or worked there on a constant

36 Hrusha, *Kantsyliaryia*, 27–43.
37 Ibid., 52, 132.
38 Ibid., 140–165.

basis. For example, Grigory Hromyko was also the Vilnius master of the key and the steward of Svisloch. In 1520–1531, this nominal chancellery notaries did not sign a single document.[39] This would explain why, during reorganization of the chancellery in 1516–1522 (1523), the number of staff was reduced. It was predominantly a secular body of staff, with some minor exceptions, consisting of the most educated notaries, a majority of whom had graduated from Kraków University (a total of eight). Up to the staff reorganization implemented in the 1530s, there were the old—Latin and Ruthenian—chancellery sections. Notaries from one section, except for the chancellor or great notary (*pisarz*), could not write documents in languages other than their own. Once the sections were eliminated however, this linguistic differentiation also disappeared. Fiodor Grigoryevich headed the Ruthenian section for many years, while Erazm Ciołek (1474–1522), also known for his diplomatic activities, led the Latin section. Ciołek, who worked as the grand duke's secretary, originated from a family of Kraków burghers. His parents Stanisław and Agnieszka were not nobles, though wealthy burghers, and sent their son to study at Kraków University.[40] At this time when nobles dominated, there was only a handful of people of the same social origins as Ciołek. As in the earlier ruler's chancellery, notaries originated mostly from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a few (six) were Poles, and there was one Italian—the long-serving ruler's secretary Andrea Giovanni Valentino from Modena. He entered the chancellery with the mediation of Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania Bona Sforza, and carried great influence in the court. He was also the queen's court medical doctor, became a Vilnius canon, and owned a brick house in Vilnius and domains in the Brest eldership.[41]

There were also some Tatar and Arabian clerks, yet they did not make up a separate section in the chancellery. In addition, private clerks of the chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania would episodically work at this institution. For example, when the ruler's clerk Mikołaj Swiniuski was in Volhynia in 1540, his scribe Benedykt Protasewicz wrote in files in the chancellery in his place. Goštautas's scribe Marcin Tur also wrote

39 Ibid., 64.

40 S. Narbutas, "Vilniaus prepozito Erazmo Vitelijaus kalba popiežiui Aleksandrui VI: Tekstas ir jo kontekstai," in *Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis Aleksandras ir jo epocha. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys*, ed. R. Petrauskas (Vilnius: Vilniaus pilių valstybinio kultūrinio rezervato direkcija, 2007), 212.

41 R. Ragauskienė, "Medicina," in *Lietuvos didžiųjų kunigaikščių rezidencija Vilniuje*, ed. V. Urbanavičius (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2010), 296.

out numerous documents in 1529–1539, and the notary of Chancellor Radziwiłł, Andrzej Steckowicz Sopotka, also worked in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

In the times of Alexander and Sigismund the Old, the chancellery became the nucleus of political thought and Renaissance culture. Many famous diplomats and cultural figures of the day worked there. Besides the aforementioned Ciołek, the secretary and diplomat Jokubawicz from Katra (ca 1450–1516 or 1517) who attended at the Vilnius Cathedral school and later on, supported by the Duke Aleksander Svirski, went on to study at Kraków University, was also distinguished for his erudition. After his graduation, he stayed there and lectured on Horatius. The Latin secretary and diplomat Venclovas Mikolajaitis from Maišiagala (ca 1490–1560) dedicated his treatise, distributed in manuscript form, *On the Customs of Tatars, Lithuanians, and Muscovites* (1615, ten sections were printed in Basel), to Sigismund Augustus in around 1550.

As a result of the high qualifications of these and other educated chancellery staff, the quality of work at this institution rose accordingly. Nonetheless, there were still quite a few errors and instances of misconduct. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, when staff supervision had still not been properly organized, there was an increase in the number of cases of document falsification and clerks who abused their position.[42] Even though notaries were obliged to issue documents and only with the knowledge of the ruler or the chancellor, they often acted upon their own will and nobles would receive false (forged) documents. The first audit of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that we know of revealed the significant scale of this kind of activity. Thus far, it has not been ascertained exactly whether it was conducted in 1516 by Chancellor Radziwiłł, or in 1522 by Chancellor Goštautas.[43] In any case, both magnates can be merited with improving chartulary procedures and reducing the level of corruption. Perhaps when the Metrica books were being put into order at the request of Radziwiłł, several might have been taken and ended up at the magnate's court. They never returned to their former location even after the magnate's death. In 1528, the wife of the ruler's marshal, Elžbieta Kęsgailienė, could not find the coronal deed of conveyance, because several of the Metrica

42 To read more, see R. Ragauskienė, *Dingę istorijoje: XVI a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės bajorijos privatūs archyvai* (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2015), 258–260.

43 Bardach, "O praktyce kancelarii litewskiej," 364; Hrusha, *Kantsyliaryia*, 66–68.

books were with the chancellor's widow, the wife of the Vilnius palatine, Elżbieta Radziwiłł.[44] It is likely that Book of Inscriptions 9 of the Lithuanian Metrica, which contained documents entered in 1508–1518, was still at the chancellor's court. This Metrica book was not in the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the late sixteenth century, which is why it was not rewritten at this time together with the other books. Perhaps this book had been removed from its proper location, at the chancellor's order, especially so that it could be fixed up and rewritten at the chancellor's court at the beginning of the sixteenth century, removing the documents entered under false pretenses by earlier clerks.[45] It is probably that along with Book 9, a book from 1516 to early 1518 had also been taken to the Radziwiłł estate, which ended up in the Radziwiłł archive and is currently in Warsaw.[46]

In 1516 or 1522, as part of the first audit, a large number of documents were unmasked that had been issued by notaries "without the ruler's will or instruction," based on which certain individuals gained rights to property and serfs. Nobles who had grown wealthy under such false circumstances had to return their ill-acquired property, while the notaries who had issued such documents lost their offices.[47] Most probably at the chancellor's initiative, and trying to run ahead of Glinski's precedent, in around 1516 the notary's oath was confirmed and entered into Book 224 of the Lithuanian Metrica. One point declared that the notary could write documents only under the instruction of the ruler or chancellor. The oath required that:

> I, [. . .], swear to the Loving Lord, the Virgin Mary and all the Saints my loyalty to His Grace, the Ruler, and to keep in confidence all his orders given to me, nor to make any writs without the instruction of the Ruler or Chancellor, or under anyone else's instruction. Were I to hear about anything harmful to the Ruler or the welfare of society, I promise to inform His Grace

44 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, 75.

45 Based on Berezhkov's research, this opinion was voiced by Hrusha, *Kantsyliaryia*, 66–67.

46 Preface, *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 9 (1511–1518). Užrašymų knyga 9*, ed. K. Pietkiewicz (Vilnius: Žara, 2002), 5.

47 Specific examples are given in Bardach, "O praktyce kancelarii litewskiej"; A. Груша, *Kantsyliaryia; Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga (1522–1530): 4-oji Teismų bylų knyga*, ed. S. Lazutka, I. Valikonytė, et al. (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1997), 153.

> or His Councilors. Help me, Lord, the Virgin Mary, and all the Saints, to carry out these duties, and if I do not, so beat my soul and body. [48]

Thus, documents issued after 1516–1522 that did not bear the signature of the ruler or chancellor were scarce.

Chancellor Goštautas continued to administer the regulation of work in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1522–1523. His activities affected the Ruthenian and Latin sections. Falsified documents often appeared due to the uncoordinated efforts of notaries from different sections: One litigant would receive the Latin document, while his opponent would procure a contradictory Ruthenian document from the other notaries. In addition, in the second half of the fifteenth–early sixteenth centuries, Latin documents did not constitute a large portion of the chancellery's outgoing material. During the times of Alexander Jagiellon, only around ten percent of all issued documents were in Latin. That is why, at the initiative of Goštautas, the chancellery staff were warned against issuing Latin documents that had not been signed by the ruler or ones he had no knowledge of. In 1532, when Ona Bagdonienė complained over one such Latin document, it was declared void.[49] These processes associated with the language used in chartulary should be related to the linguistic aspirations of the chancellor and Vilnius palatine himself, Albertas Goštautas.

> The magnate, who most probably studied at Kraków University, knew Latin. He signed under many documents issued in this language, letters would be dictated in Latin to the Polish aristocracy and the Prussian duke. Goštautas also obviously knew Polish, prayed from a Polish prayer book, and his letters to the ruler's court or magnates would be dictated in this language, with some Ruthenian incerpts. Nonetheless, Ruthenian was the preferred language used on a daily basis by the Vilnius palatine. There are a number of Ruthenian markers in the magnate's inner circle. Ruthenians made up a significant percentage in the magnate's court, the Orthodox believers the Drucki dukes, were his maternal relatives,

48 Published in I. Valikonytė, "Notariato instituto genezė ir sklaida Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje," in *Lietuvos notariato istorija. Leidinys skirtas notariato reformos Lietuvoje 20-mečiui*, ed. J. Karpavičienė (Vilnius: R. Paknio leidykla, 2012), 36.

49 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 14 (1524–1529). Užrašymų knyga 14*, ed. L. Karalius and D. Antanavičius (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2008), 188: "мы давно заказали в канцелярии нашои абы листы латинскии без ведома и подписы руки нашое не были выдаваны, а хотя бы таковыи лист и вышол, тогды жадное моцности мети не мает."

and most of his estates were located in the Ruthenian lands where the Belarusian ethnos gradually formed. His wife, the Duchess Zofija, originally from Vereya near Moscow, was of Byzantine Palaiologos dynastic blood. In 1510, the library of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania contained "books in the church Slavic language, called Russian," while in his last will he indicated his wish to be buried in the Vilnius Cathedral, yet wanted "a painting of the Mother of God, painted in the Greek way" above his head. It comes as no surprise that a number of letters written by Goštautas and his wife were in Ruthenian, and that their privileges and other documents were issued in this language. In 1534–1536, Goštautas wrote a private letter in Ruthenian to Prince Simeon Bielsky, wishing him good tidings and health.[50] So clearly, there are no grounds to associate Goštautas with any ill will against Ruthenians or this language and the memoir to Queen Bona written in Latin in Goštautas's name that was declared in 1525. This declaration by the magnate could be termed contextual, or made at the heat of the moment. Emotionally defending Lithuania's statehood, the magnate highlighted that the most important positions in the state had to be held by Lithuanians alone, and not Ruthenians. Yet let us not forget that this declaration was aimed at his former friend, who Goštautas had once called his "father," yet eventually became his enemy, the grand hetman and Trakai palatine, Duke Konstanty Ivanovich Ostrogski.[51] So there is no question, that Goštautas in particular can be credited with the decreasing use of Latin in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1522–1523, and the expansion of Ruthenian. Chartulary in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in this language was ultimately confirmed in the First Statute of Lithuania; note that its compilation was both nominally and realistically led by none other than the magnate himself.

Goštautas had to implement a number of other changes to the chancellery's work. The functions expected of notaries, as was already mentioned, were defined in the oath, however due to the significantly increased volume of documentation in around 1526–1527, the Lithuanian chancellor granted

50 [Ca 1535/–1536, b. v.], Albertas Goštautas to Simeon Bielsky, *Arkhiv Sankt-Peterburgskogo instituta istorii RAN*, S. V. Solov′ev's collecion, f. 124, *karton* 1, no. 58.

51 R. Ragauskienė, "Język potoczny magnatów WKL w pierwszej połowie XVI w. (na przykładzie Radziwiłłów i Gasztoldów)," in *Gistarychna-arkheologichny zbornik da 60-goddzia Valiantsina Fedaravicha Golubeva* (Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2017), no. 32, 47–4.

greater authority to the most senior notaries (*pisarz*). He no longer signed all the documents. The magnate also ensured that no misconduct would occur when the chancellor was not in Poland by using the majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in an unlawful manner. Expressing his concerns in a letter to Jerzy Radziwiłł, the magnate stated "not like it is now, where Poles have it [the seal] in their hands and use it at will."[52] Besides, at the chancellor's order, all fees for the issue of documents had to be paid to the chancellery, and not to individual notaries. A conflict arose in 1524 between Goštautas and the Latin notary Povilas Naruševičius, who was accepting fees personally for the issue of documents. When Naruševičius appropriated the money collected for a land conveyance deed issued to the Podlasie palatine Jan Kostewicz, he had to either return the privilege or pay the fee to the chancellery directly. For his behavior, Naruševičius was temporarily suspended from the chancellery, yet returned in 1532.

Goštautas's reforms did produce results. The chartulary during his time in the chancellery was in a much more ordered condition, "new" books and "books" for different kinds of documents started being kept, primarily for deeds of conveyance and court decrees. A specific example could be Book 14 of the Lithuanian Metrica. This book is a "real register of documents issued and received by the ruler's chancellery," which contains no *notitia* type of messages, the registered entries about issued documents became concise and laconic, without any of the elements of formality, often lacking dates and places of issue. The book consisted of the "matters" handled by separate notaries—Bogusz Bohowitinowicz, Sidor Kopot and Ivan Hornostaj.[53] The private document collection managed by the chancellor was looked after quite well. Expansive books of "estate revenue, grants, and sales" were kept at his estate in 1518–1532. In 1542, upon the death of the last representative of the Goštautas family, the Trakai palatine Stanislovas Goštautas, Sigismund Augustus received a significant part of this family's archive from June, 1543 to the end of 1544. Lithuanian Metrica Book 231 of court decrees mentioned:

> the Goštautas family registers have been [entered] for posterity, which the young king received: firstly, the register of revenue and taxes from the domains of Lord Goštautas, and also the register of expenditures; a register

52 Ca 1527/1528 09 23, Suraż, A. Goštautas to J. Radziwiłł, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, XI, no. 17.

53 L. Karalius, Preface, *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 14*, 8–10.

> of Lord Goštautas's treasury; a register of Lord Goštautas's notices and privileges; a register of notices for the purchase of nobles' lands; copies of notices belonging to the Komarowski, Alekseyev, and other families declaring their right to domains in return for service for the Goštautas family; register of the contribution [dowry] of the daughter of the Vilnius castellan to the Goštautas household.[54]

After the death of Albertas Goštautas, the ruler did not appoint a new chancellor for as long as seven years. The chancellery was looked after by the notary and land treasurer Hornostaj, who had earned great influence when Goštautas was still in charge. Even in 1546, when this position was added to the list of duties of the Vilnius palatine Jan Hlebowicz, no major changes were made to working procedures at the chancellery during his almost three years there. In his capacity as the palatine of Vitebsk and Polotsk, the books of the Lithuanian Metrica still contain his copied book (Book 16) of this region's court decrees, and the collection of privileges granted to Volhynia (Book 22) given to him already as the chancellor, dating to 1547.[55] The cases entered into the books in 1530–1538 were often heard at his private Dubrovna estate. We know of several notaries of the Vilnius palatine: Semion Haraburda in 1543,[56] later, in 1546–1548, and probably until the magnate's death—Eustachy Wołłowicz.[57] The notaries would accompany him on journeys: In 1536, when Hlebowicz was travelling to his domains in Šalčininkai, one notary lost the magnate's personal signet ring.[58]

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54 *Lietuvos Metrika (1540–1543): 12-oji Teismų bylų knyga*, ed. I. Valikonytė, N. Šlimienė, S. Viskantaitė-Saviščevienė, and L. Steponavičienė (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2007), 241.

55 Kennedy Grimsted and I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica"*, 83–84. Published version of the copied book: *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 22 (1547). Užrašymų knyga 22*, ed. A. Blanutsa, D. Vashchuk and D. Antanavičius (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2010).

56 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, no. 586, 134.

57 Lithuanian Metrica Book 31, Lithuanian State History Archives, [accessed on microfilm kept at the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, notebook 31, 221.

58 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 19 (1535–1537). Užrašymų knyga 19*, ed. D. Vilimas, no. 248 (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2009), 250.

Chapter 4

The Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Lithuanian Metrica in the Mid-Sixteenth–First Quarter of the Seventeenth Centuries

The history of the chancellery from this period contains several turning points, such as the establishment of the vice-chancellor's position in 1566 and the division of the chancellery into two parts, or the ordination of King Henry Valois in 1574, which had a major influence on the final formation of the chancellery system.[1] These and other changes in the mentioned period were determined by the internal reforms underway in the state (the Volok Reform, administrative and court reforms) and the gradual entrenchment of the significance of the document. A favorable legislative base ensuring this demand for documentation formed, and certain laws were passed, such as the regulations of 1552 which helped simplify and reduce the cost of recording transactions, audits of land holdings and the nobles' estate during the Volok Reform, and especially the Second and Third Statutes of Lithuania, not to mention the laws that abolished restrictions on the nobility to freely dispose of land. Political events were also important, such as the Union of Lublin of 1569,

1 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 256.

the first years without a king, and the decrees of elected rulers associated with the chancellery. For example, after the Union of Lublin when Poland incorporated the palatinates of Volhynia, Kiev, and Bracław, the Ruthenian handling of the Metrica books continued in the Crown chancellery, while staff from the former chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, such as Wawrzyniec Piaseczyński and Eutik Wysocki, started working at the Polish chancellery.[2] As a result, the significance of the chancellery and the importance of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica, and accordingly, the volume of work, all increased.

The interval being discussed may be divided into several periods based on the intensity of the changes that took place. The chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continued to have a strong influence on the processes within the institution. Therefore, it would be correct to divide the period from the middle of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the seventeenth century into the period under the two Mikołaj Radziwiłłs, the Black and the Red (1550–1579 [figs. 4, 5]) and the period when the institution was under the leadership of Wołłowicz and Sapieha (1579–1623).

The Chancellery in 1550–1579: The Apogee of the Institution Leader's Authority

In terms of the history of battles for the authority of the chancellor, the years 1550–1579 are quite exceptional. This is the period when this official carried the highest authority and significance in political life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The competencies of earlier holders of this position (as well as of Vilnius palatines) were extended. The importance of the chancellor grew even more due to his influence in the courts of the nobility. Never before had this position held as much authority. The exclusive nature of the situation unfolded when the most prominent political figure in sixteenth-century Lithuania, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black, became the chancellor. Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red, who took over this office in 1565, maintained this enormous influence in the state. During his time as leader, the staff and functions of the chancellery were reorganized. The number of staff stabilized, specialization in terms of the work being done increased, and the position of vice-chancellor was established.

2 P. Kulakov′skyi, *Kantseliariia Rus′koi (Volyn′skoi) Metriki 1569–1673 r.r. Studiia z istorii ukrains′kogo regionalizmu v Rechi Pospolytii* (Ostrog: Derzhavnyi Komitet arkhiviv Ukrainy, 2002), 98, 139.

Figure 4. *Chancellor and palatine of Vilnius, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black (1515–1565). Late sixteenth-century engraving from the book: Jakob Schrenck von Notzing,* Augustissimorum imperatorum, serenissimorum regum atque archiducum, illustrissimorum principum necnon comitum, baronum, nobilium aliorumque clarissimorum virorum verissimae imagines et rerum . . . gestarum succinctae descriptions . . . , *Oeniponti, 1601.* (Photograph by Klaudijus Driskius)

In the middle of the sixteenth century, on account of its political authority, the position of chancellor—traditionally combined with the office of the Vilnius palatine—became one of the main aspirations of magnates. Becoming a chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was not even so straightforward for Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black, as he had to contend with his cousin, the king's brother-in-law, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red. Once the chancellor and Vilnius palatine Hlebowicz died on April 23, 1549, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Augustus (1544–1572) did not hurry to allocate positions due to the actions of the opposition before the royal wedding. Both the Radziwiłł "party" that supported the ruler, and the opposition leaders expected to receive the highest positions in the state. However, in May 1549, though only briefly, it was Ivan Hornostaj, who was loyal to the king, held a neutral position over the marriage and was not perceived as a threat by the opposition, who received the right to "administer"

the Vilnius palatinate. He had many years of experience of working in the chancellery—he had worked here as a Ruthenian notary from 1512, and after Chancellor Goštautas's death in 1539, after which a replacement was not appointed for a long time, Hornostaj headed the institution for a long time. In May, 1542, he was officially named as the manager of the chancellery's affairs (*sprawca kancelarii*),[3] or, basically acted as the vice-chancellor. Hornostaj's functions as a treasurer were no less important: He had to protect the state archive and be aware of financial matters in handling the budget of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. While we do not know how much the preparation and issue of documents would have cost at the time, we could presume that fees would have been similar to those being charged in the Polish chancellery.

Figure 5. *Chancellor and palatine of Vilnius, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red (ca 1515–1584). Late sixteenth-century engraving from the book: Jakob Schrenck von Notzing,* Augustissimorum imperatorum, serenissimorum regum atque archiducum, illustrissimorum principum necnon comitum, baronum, nobilium aliorumque clarissimorum virorum verissimae imagines et rerum . . . gestarum succinctae descriptions . . . , *Oeniponti, 1601.* (Photograph by Klaudijus Driskius)

3 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 52.

According to the regulations of 1511, a maximum rate for these fees had been set down for Poland: Money could not be taken for summons, however the issue of other documents ranged from three to sixty Polish groschen.[4]

During the three years Hlebowicz served as chancellor (1546–1549), Hornostaj, who acted as the land treasurer, court marshal, and ruler's notary, continued to serve as the vice-chancellor. It is believed that he initiated the liquidation of the Ruthenian and Latin sections of the chancellery in 1545–1549. This led to a reduction in the number of staff in the chancellery, and great notaries emerged: Lev Patiej Tyszkiewicz and one of the few members of the clergy to have worked in the chancellery—Walerian Protasewicz.[5] The latter's career through the ranks of the Church hierarchy shows the high assessment of notaries at the time, and the potential for rising up the social ladder. Protasewicz could not boast of coming from a particularly high position in society. He was born in a Ruthenian, probably Orthodox, family of a common noble (Drzewica coat of arms), in the Sushkov domain (in the small rural district of Aina, not far from Minsk). He entered the chancellery of Queen Bona Sforza under the recommendation of the administrator of Žemaitija (Samogitia), Stanislovas Kęsgaila (Stanisław Kieżgajło), in 1532. In 1533 he was appointed the vicar of Maišiagala. He received the position of notary and secretary in the chancellery in 1544 and specialized in Ruthenian documents. Until 1549, Protasewicz headed the Ruthenian section of the chancellery, plus, he was also responsible for the collection of fees received for the issue of documents from the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1545–1546, he was the court chancellor of Sigismund Augustus. It was his service in the chancellery and the trust he earned from the royal family that allowed Protasewicz to receive various clerical duties: From 1533 he was a canon of the Žemaitijan Chapter, and a Vilnius canon from 1537. In 1549 he became the bishop of Lutsk, and served as the elected bishop of Vilnius from 1555.[6]

Being appointed to administrate the Vilnius palatinate from May 9, 1549, the very next day Hornostaj[7] was chosen to oversee the handling of

4 W. Chorążyczewski, "Kancelarie centralne państwa XIV–XVIII w.," in *Dyplomatyka staropolska*, ed. T. Jurek (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015), 154.

5 Hrusha, *Kantsyliaryia*, 77, 141–142.

6 V. Ališauskas, T. Jaszczołt, L. Jovaiša, and M. Paknys, *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV–XVI a.* (Vilnius: Aidai, 2009), 415.

7 Lithuanian Metrica Book 237, Lithuanian State History Archives [accessed on microfilm kept in the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, fascicle 237, 1.

what became Book 237, and later also Book 238 of the Vilnius castle court, both of which became part of the Lithuanian Metrica. The land marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black, one of the figures closest to the king who hoped to take over both positions, was very disappointed over Hornostaj's appointment. Once the opposition subsided, he warned his cousin in a letter not to allow Hornostaj to feel superior to him. Otherwise, Radziwiłł threatened to be the kind of superior who, according to the magnate, would make "his teeth fall into his porridge" (*że mu ząb wyleci w kaszę*).[8] But Hornostaj did not even attempt to compete against the powerful Radziwiłł cousins, the king's relatives.[9] Incidentally, at the end of that year, the chancellery which was under Hornostaj's supervision at the time, had issued incorrectly worded orders in the ruler's name to Queen Barbara Radziwiłł's brother, Radziwiłł the Red. In October, 1549, the magnate who had been appointed hetman had to command an army of conscripted nobles after a Tatar attack in Navahrudak. The ruler's orders written in Ruthenian in the chancellery instructed the landsmen to obey not only Radziwiłł the Red, but also the Trakai castellan, Hieronym Chodkiewicz. On account of the unintentional display of mistrust towards his brother-in-law, Sigismund Augustus assured Radziwiłł the Red that he had indeed ordered the Trakai castellan to leave Žemaitija and go to Navahrudak, but not to serve as the hetman there. According to the king, the mistake had been made by the chancellery staff, who wrote up the document adhering to some kind of "ancient custom" (*kancellaryjej naszej pisać nie rozkazali, lecz że oni obserwując antiquum stilum cancellariae tak pisali*). Unable to control this (*jakowym kształtem oni piszą, wiadomości mieć nie możemy*), Sigismund Augustus agreed that orders needed to be formulated in a clearer way, and promised to consider this in the future. In addition,

8 December 26, 1550, Kraków, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black to Radziwiłł the Red, cited from: J. Jasnowski, *Mikołaj Czarny Radziwiłł (1515–1565). Kanclerz i marszałek ziemski Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, wojewoda wileński* (Warszawa: Nakł. tow. Naukowego Warszawskiego z Zasiłku Ministerstwa W.R. i O.P., 1939), 61.

9 The land marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Radziwiłł the Black, in seeking both positions, was playing a double game: he offered the then free position of Trakai palatine to his cousin, yet he himself denied it, saying that he would be of more use staying in the ruler's court than being away somewhere else. However, as Radziwiłł the Red's clients informed him from the court, when speaking to the king Radziwiłł the Black never recommended granting the Vilnius palatinate and chancellorship to Radziwiłł the Red who had left Lithuania, claiming he [the Black] could be more beneficial to Lithuania and the ruler. He [the Black] "reserved" this position for himself. See: R. Ragauskienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kancleris Mikalojus Radvila Rudasis (apie 1515–1584)* (Vilnius: Valstybės žinios, 2002), 50–51.

the ruler admitted that he was not very good at Ruthenian writing himself: *wszak wiecie, iż azbuki nie umiemy*.[10]

Yet it is unlikely that this misunderstanding had much influence on Sigismund Augustus's decision, made already after Barbara's coronation. On December 26, 1550, the ruler's carver Stanisław Miszkowski was sent with the seal of the Trakai palatine to Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red, while the seal of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was brought to Radziwiłł the Black. In June the next year, in keeping with an almost one-hundred-year-old tradition, Radziwiłł the Black received the position of Vilnius palatine whilst also continuing to serve as the land marshal. The magnate held the three most important positions in the state for the rest of his life, and managed to win the almost unconditional trust of Sigismund Augustus. In terms of both his duties and his status, Radziwiłł the Black became the most influential magnate, and the foremost member of the Council of Lords. After his death on May 29, 1565, even though the new candidacy to the leader of the chancellery was relatively obvious, the earlier precedent was repeated—Sigismund Augustus temporarily entrusted leadership of the institution to the ruler's notary and land treasurer. This time, administration of the Vilnius palatinate, and at the same time, leadership of the chancellery, was temporarily given to Wołłowicz. By the time of the Vilnius sejm held on March 11 the next year, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red signed as the Vilnius palatine and chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for the first time.[11]

The position of chancellor was usually allocated for life, however, on account of his old age and his responsibilities as hetman which demanded much of his time and strength, in 1579 Radziwiłł the Red asked to be stood down as chancellor. In fact, the magnate made this decision for other reasons, which were not recorded officially. Radziwiłł the Red actually wanted to leave the path open to the chancellorship for his son, Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Thunder. After the magnate's resignation and the appointment of Wołłowicz as the Vilnius castellan, Radziwiłł the Red's son was appointed as the new vice-chancellor and Trakai castellan, believing that the next step up in his career ladder would be the position of chancellor of the Grand Duchy

10 October 23, 24, 1549, Kraków, Sigismund Augustus to Radziwiłł the Red, *Listy polskie XVI wieku*, vol. 2: *Listy z lat 1548–1550 ze zbiorów W. Pociechy, W. Taszyckiego i A. Turasiewicza*, ed. K. Rymut (Kraków: Nakład Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 2001), 133–136.

11 Ragauskienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kancleris*, 88–89.

of Lithuania. This was how the era of chancellorship of the two influential Radziwiłł cousins ended in 1579, having lasted twenty-nine years. No other subsequent chancellors managed to attain as much influence in the state as they had, their successors had to devote much more attention to their direct functions—the chancellery's affairs, rather than the domestic and foreign policies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The Functions of the Chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

The Radziwiłł cousins became the most important officials of executive government in the state. We can discern three of the most important directions in their activities as chancellors: 1) the preparation of state legal acts; 2) leading the diplomatic corpus and foreign policy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; and 3) the daily running of the chancellery. It was this activity which was stressed the most in the chancellor's oath, confirmed in 1566. It indicated that the leaders of the chancellery (the chancellor or vice-chancellor) could not issue any notices on parchment or paper without the ruler's knowledge, will or verbal instruction; nor could they issue any documents violating or contradicting the rights and freedoms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[12]

As mentioned, both these chancellors dedicated a great deal of time to the formation and execution of foreign policy. For example, Radziwiłł the Black went on diplomatic missions personally (to the Habsburg court in Vienna in 1553) and generated some of the most important foreign policy ideas. He managed to neutralize the Grand Duchy of Muscovy by dismantling its ties with the Habsburgs, and in 1554 he initiated the plan of joining Livonia to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, sought a union with Sweden, signed a treaty with Denmark, and so forth. News from other countries, the reception of legations, and certification of treaties were part and parcel of the other chancellor's—Radziwiłł the Red's—daily duties. This is why, after relations with Sigismund Augustus deteriorated immediately after the Union of Lublin, Radziwiłł protested that it was the Vilnius bishop who received news from the Horde and Turkey first, and he, only three days later: "no other palatine nor chancellor has ever been treated this way before". In the beginning of 1571, Sigismund Augustus invited the chancellor to

12 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 530 (1566–1572). Viešųjų reikalų knyga 8*, ed. D. Baronas and L. Jovaiša (Vilnius: Žara, 1999), 23.

his court to be able to suitably receive the Muscovite envoys and ratify a treaty. Upon receiving a letter from the Duke of Courland the following year, addressed to the Council of Lords of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Radziwiłł tore it open without waiting for the other members, justifying his actions by saying he behaved "as was expected of a chancellor," and so on.[13]

The chancellor's direct duty was to supervise the preparation of the main state acts, ruler's privileges, and other documents, to authorize them with his signature and/or the former majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which he kept. The chancellor had to ensure the proper preparation of documents and to see to their registration, and the entry of issued documents into the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. Radziwiłł the Black passed the first test of his professional capacities when he headed the preparation of the privilege passed at the Vilnius sejm on November 3, 1551, which consisted of all the hitherto issued privileges. The prepared document was the official act of the incorporation of state privileges. Both Radziwiłłs led the preparation of numerous other acts, the most important of which was the Second Statute of Lithuania. For example, Book 265 of the Lithuanian Metrica indicates that at the beginning of 1566, "the Vilnius palatine, as the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania," gave the notary Jan Szymkowicz certain state privileges to be entered into the Statute.[14] The chancellors had to take certain state documents that were frequently required with them when travelling, for example, Radziwiłł the Red took certain state privileges to the sejm in Brest in 1566 where the union with Poland was discussed.[15]

It was during the period of these chancellors that the proper procedure for stamping and signing documents was finally established: Especially regarding larger grants, documents had to be signed by the rulers and highest chancellery officials (chancellors or vice-chancellors), and also stamped with a seal. Plans were underway to restrict the chancellor's authority in document preparation in the ordination of Henry Valois written up in

13 Ragauskienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kancleris*, 105.

14 I. Lappo, *1588 metų Lietuvos Statutas*, vol. 1, Book 1 (Kaunas: Švietimo ministerijos Knygų leidimo komisija, 1934), 3–42; Lithuanian Metrica Book 265, Lithuanian State History Archives [accessed on microfilm kept in the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, fascicle 265, 95v.

15 Jakubowski, "Archiwum państwowe," 3.

Kraków in 1574, by categorically demanding (Chapter III, Article V) the ruler's signature.[16]

This was all determined by the increase in control over authorizations. Even though someone from Grzegorz Chodkiewicz's circle stated in 1562 that "many of these [unsigned] letters leave the chancellery without the ruler's knowledge," we should presume that the number of inadequately authorized documents did fall. In 1570, when the Vilnius burghers protested over increased customs duties, the king ordered a response be written, which he stamped with the minor seal in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor Wołłowicz, who was not in the court at the time. When the king sent the response to Chancellor Radziwiłł the Red, he instructed that it be passed on to the Vilnius burghers, or, if the chancellor sees this as unfit, to have the ruler's minor seal removed from the document and to stamp it with the majestic seal, which "Your Grace, as the chancellor, has."[17] This case clearly illustrates how the king's authority was exceeded, as well as the chancellor's importance. He had to be an official who first of all obeyed the law, not the ruler. In much the same way, in the winter of 1571, nobles in the districts (*powiats*) were surprised to receive the ruler's documents stamped with the minor seal, not the accepted majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and also without the accustomed signatures of the chancellor and vice-chancellor. In 1577 the chancellor reproached Stephen Bathory over a document he received intended for the burghers of Gdańsk, that had not been signed by the vice-chancellor or the great notary (*pisarz*), and which had also not been stamped. It soon became clear that it was only a draft. During the last years of his chancellorship, Radziwiłł the Red used his right as the sealbearer to interfere in the establishment of the Catholic Vilnius Academy in the capital city. This expression of opposition by the Protestant magnate has been rather widely covered in historiography—he did not impress the majestic seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania onto the founding diploma dated April 1, 1579 for the opening of the Jesuit academy in Vilnius, signed by Stephen Bathory.[18] Vice-Chancellor Wołłowicz had to "come to the rescue," as he feared that "French customs" (he was referring

16 L. Kieniewicz, "Projekt ordynacji kancelaryjnej za Henryka Walezego," *Przegląd Historyczny* 78, no. 4 (1987): 719.

17 January 30, 1570, Warsaw, Sigismund Augustus to Radziwiłł the Red, *Listy króla Zygmunta Augusta do Radziwiłłów*, ed. I. Kaniewska (Kraków: Wydawn. Literackie, 1999), 572.

18 See P. Rabikauskas, *Vilniaus akademija ir Lietuvos jėzuitai*, ed. L. Jovaiša (Vilnius: Aidai, 2002), 7–30.

to how the Protestants were treated on St. Bartholomew's Night in 1572) would not catch on in Lithuania.[19]

Chancellors did not interfere in the actual chartulary process, which was left to the competency of the notaries. The chancellor could not have done this task even if he wanted to, due to the enormous workload. We should not forget that the position of Vilnius palatine also demanded a great deal of time, for example, presiding over the sessions at the Vilnius castle court alone. However, as we can learn from Queen Bona's accusations towards Radziwiłł the Black who had just started in his new position, being accountable for all the chancellery's work, the chancellor had to ensure the proper preparation of documents in this institution. Old Queen Bona bombarded Radziwiłł the Black several times within the first few months of his chancellorship. On one occasion, she complained over one of the chancellery's notaries, Stanisław Komarowski, saying that he had prepared the document "not in accordance with chancellery rules": *nie wedle obyczaju odprawił z kancelaryji*. The angered magnate wrote that he had barely started in his new position, and had already encountered problems: *jam jeszcze i piecęci nie lizał, a już kłopotu używam*.[20]

At the beginning of his appointment as chancellor, Radziwiłł the Black aimed to devote great attention to the inscription of issued documents into the books of the Lithuanian Metrica and their proper storage. According to the magnate, future generations would seek "knowledge, honor, and power" from them. The chancellor organized activities along these lines immediately upon arriving in Vilnius in June, 1551. Evidence of this can be found in an inscription in the introduction to Book 35 of the Metrica.[21]

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19 November 22, 1578, Kraków, Eustachy Wołłowicz to Radziwiłł the Red, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie,* Archiwum Radziwiłłów V, no. 17959/III.

20 April 3, 1551, Brest, Radziwiłł the Black to Radziwiłł the Red, *Listy polskie XVI wieku*, vol. 3: *Listy z lat 1550–1551 ze zbiorow Władysława Pociechy, Witolda Taszyckiego i Adama Turasiewicza*, ed. K. Rymut (Kraków: Nakład Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 2004), 116. [I've not even licked the seal, and I already I have concerns.]

21 Lithuanian Metrica Book 35, Lithuanian State History Archives [accessed on microfilm kept at the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, fascicle 35, 1: "Поступивъши на местца предъковъ своихъ съ пильностью то мети хотелъ, абы вси таковые обдарованья, листы умоцненые наяснеи- шого и предреченого господаря Жикгимонта Августа съ канъцляреи его королевъское милости уряду своего канцлерского на одно местцо певного замкненья зношоны и до тое книги вписываны были а на часъ пришлыи потомъству и обователямъ Великого Князьства Литовъского ведомость, славу и можность приносить могли, якожъ вси таковые листы, привилья, ведомости часу пришлого потребные далеи слово

Aside from the mentioned Book 35 containing various records (privileges, grants), books managed by different chancellery notaries were also formed during the time the Radziwiłłs were in office, for example, books 37, and 45 were handled by notary Wołłowicz, Book 38 by J. Szymkawicz, books 39, 43, and 46 by Jan Hajko, Book 51 by Maciej Sawicki, and so on.

The Chancellery Staff

The Radziwiłł chancellors had deputies on account of having to handle a large workload due to holding several highly ranked state positions simultaneously. It is likely that prior to the appearance of the vice-chancellor's position, this kind of official was known as the manager of the ruler's chancellery's affairs. As was already mentioned, when the position of chancellor was still vacant, these duties were carried out by Ivan Hornostaj (1542) and Eustachy Wołłowicz (1565). This position also existed when the Radziwiłł chancellors were in charge. During the time when Radziwiłł the Black headed the chancellery (1554–1559), the brother of the notary Wołłowicz, Grzegorz Bohdanowicz Wołłowicz, was mentioned as this official.[22] In several documents from this time, G. Wołłowicz was even identified as the vice-chancellor: in acts dated July 13, 1554, August 16, 1555, and July 15, 1559. Therefore, if he was absent, the work of the Vilnius castle court could not always be done properly. An entry in Book 250 of the Lithuanian Metrica states: "with the departure in the ruler's service of the Mstibogov administrator, Grzegorz Wołłowicz, in whose care the Metrica of the ruler's chancellery are kept."[23] Like his brother, he too made a career in this field: In 1567 he became the master of the hunt of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Smolensk palatine in 1571. Finally, in 1565–1566 at the Vilnius sejm, following Poland's example, the office of vice-chancellor of the Grand

отъ слова тутъ уписаны, которие свободы и вольности шириеи объмовляють и годности водле заслугъ кождого стану ясне показуеть."

22 *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Archiwum Radziwiłłów I, no. 8668.

23 Lithuanian Metrica Book 250, Lithuanian State History Archives [accessed on microfilm kept at the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, fascicle 250, p. 236–236v: "звлаща ижъ теж отъехалъ на послугу господаръскую панъ Грыгорей Воловичъ староста мстибоговъский в которого суть в злеценью Метрыки гсдръские канъцлярыиские"; A. Shalanda, "Grygoryi Bagdanovich Valovich—pershy podkantsler VKL?," in *Valovichy u gistoryi Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga XV–XVIII stst.*, ed. A. M. Ianushkevich (Minsk: Medysont, 2014), 244–245.

Duchy of Lithuania was officially established. The new position entailed a broader field of competency and having to swear an oath of allegiance.

> The first to have given the vice-chancellor's oath was the long-serving chancellery staff member, Eustachy Wołłowicz. His career began in 1546 when he worked as the notary in the court of the Vilnius palatine, Hlebowicz. In 1551 he became the great notary (*pisarz*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and in 1553 he received the position of the ruler's marshal. Already then, the notary was one of the most influential people in the chancellery, and constantly worked in the ruler's court. In 1556, Sigismund Augustus wrote to Radziwiłł the Black from Warsaw that the appointment of the Spaniard Petrus Roisius to his preferred parish had been entered into the Polish chancellery in Latin, though it was Wołłowicz who stamped the confirmation of this office.[24] Later, with the assistance of the Radziwiłłs, the notary entered the ranks of the aristocracy. From 1561 he became the administrator of Brest, and one year later, as mentioned, he was made vice-chancellor. The official's acceptance into the aristocracy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is evident in the military census data of 1567. At the time, Wołłowicz provided 207 cavalry and sixty-five infantrymen,[25] which means that he had over 2,000 people at his disposal or around 3,000 *voloks* of land.

As the oaths of both chancellery staff were the same, we could say that the vice-chancellor was basically equal to the chancellor. The equal rights of both sealbearers, that is, the chancellor and vice-chancellor, was highlighted in the ordination of Henry Valois of 1574. Articles II, V, and VIII regulated the collegial cooperation of the highest-ranked officials in receiving information and controlling the institution's activities.[26] Yet in reality, the vice-chancellor was responsible mostly for those functions associated with actual chartulary. At least initially, the vice-chancellor usually accompanied the ruler and worked in his court in Poland. Wołłowicz resided in the court of Sigismund Augustus on a permanent basis, or at least in the final years of the ruler's life, and was often present in the court of Stephen Bathory. In one of his letters from Bydgoszcz, the vice-chancellor complained to Radziwiłł the Red that he needed a Latin specialist, who

24 November 20, 1556, Warsaw, Sigismund Augustus to Radziwiłł the Black, in *Listy króla*, 319.

25 U. Padalinski, "Valovichy u palitychnym zhytstsi VKL drugoi palovy XVI—pachatku XVII st.," in *Valovichy u gistoryi*, 320–321.

26 Kieniewicz, "Projekt ordynacji," 720–721.

could help him speak openly with Stephen Bathory: *przez ktorego dufale s Panem mogł bym się zmowić*.[27]

When the position of vice-chancellor was established, the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania split into two parts—the major (chancellor's) and the minor (vice-chancellor's) chancelleries.[28] This distinction is evident in the titles of Lithuanian Metrica books from the later period, for example, Book 79 from 1589–1591 which is dedicated mostly to Livonian matters, was titled the Greater Metrica, or Book 297 handled by Chancellor Lew Sapieha in 1616–1622 which was referred to as the major chancellery book. Separate vice-chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica started being kept from 1566. Copies of Wołłowicz's first Metrica books as vice-chancellor (books 49 and 50) have survived. The originals were handled by the notaries Baziliusz Drzewiński and Wawrzyniec Wojna.

The letter from Wojna, the chancellery clerk of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later, treasurer, written to the administrator of Žemaitija Jan Chodkiewicz in 1578, provides us with more information about the vice-chancellor's chancellery. He asked to find the documents handled by Radziwiłł the Black in "the collections [metrica] of His Grace, the King" regarding the relinquishment of the domains of the sisters of the deceased Hrodno administrator Grzegorz Chodkiewicz in favor of their brothers. Wojna not only asked Chodkiewicz [to search for this document], but himself diligently spent "two whole days" going through all the [Metrica] books that were in the treasury." A number of books by Radziwiłł the Black were found in the treasury, but these were only those that had been handled in his capacity as the Vilnius palatine and marshal. The treasury did not contain any of the king's Metrica books which had been under the supervision of Radziwiłł as chancellor. The treasury officials asserted that "all the Metrica books of His Grace, the King" had been given to the Vice-Chancellor Wołłowicz after the chancellor's death: "the metrica books would rarely be given to the treasury for storage, the sealbearers would usually take them and keep them themselves." Wojna suggested looking for the books written up during Radziwiłł's chancellorship in the vice-chancellor's chancellery.[29]

27 March 11, 1577, Bydgoszsz, Eustachy Wołłowicz to Radziwiłł the Red, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Archiwum Radziwiłłów V, no. 17959/II.

28 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 14.

29 September 6, 1578, Vilnius, Wawrzyniec Wojna to Jan Chodkiewicz, *Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie*, no. 1885, 85v–86v: " . . . z wielką pilnością szukać rozkazał, alem y sam przez dwa dni wszystkie xięgi ile ich w skarbie jest wartując szukał i nalazło się w skarbie xiąg spraw jego m. pana

This letter is further confirmation that the leaders of the chancellery would take the books and not hurry to return them to the treasury. And more importantly, it offers information about how the books of Chancellor Radziwiłł the Black made their way to the vice-chancellor's chancellery. It appears that at the beginning of the vice-chancellor's position, material was traditionally taken to the vice-chancellor's chancellery where it was kept along with documents from the chancellor's office.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, Sigismund Augustus issued separate privileges in which he appointed the great notary (*pisarz*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the Lithuanian Great Notary). This was a higher-ranked official of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania who also swore an oath. The great notary would promise to carry out the orders of the ruler and chancellor, not to disclose secrets, not to issue any documents without the ruler's knowledge, to write out the necessary documents, and oversee their inscription into the books.[30] In terms of hierarchical ranking, he was lower than the vice-chancellor and held his position for life. During the times of Radziwiłł the Black, seven individuals became great notaries: S. Komarowski, Hermogen Hornostaj, Eustachy Wołłowicz, Piotr Semaszko, J. Szymkowicz, J. Hajko, and Mikalojus Naruševičius. As the great notaries handled their books themselves, they could also have had their own chancelleries. However, as yet there is no data to prove this.

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wojewody wileńskiego nieboszczyka niemało, ale tylko tych ktore się właśnie z urzędow nieboszczykowskich wojewodzkich i marszałkowskich działy y co spraw od urzędow samego jego m. pochodziło, ale metrzyk jego kro. m. spraw takowych, ktore by się przed jego kro. msczią za sprawy nieboszczykowskiej kanczlerzskiej toczyły żadnych zgoła w skarbie nie masz y tak urzędniczy skarbni powiadają, żeby wszystkie metrzyki jego kro. m. po śmierci nieboszczykowskiej do rąk jego m. pana troczkiego przyjść mieli, jakoż też do skarbu metrzyk w zachowanie rzadko dawają, jedno to panowie pieczętarze jeden pod drugim do swego zachowania biorą i u siebie to miewają. A tak gdzie by to w skarbie było pewien tego wm moj mściwy pan racz być żebym tego wm swemu m. panu posłać nie omieszkał, ale ze się to w skarbie napleść i okazać a przeto się i do wm p. wielmożności odesłać nie mogło. Pilnie proszę wm moj m. pan z nielaską tego przyjmować nie raczył a w kanczalerzi jego m. pana trockiego tego poszukać rozkazać raczył."

30 A notary's oath was written in around 1566: "Ego [. . .] iuro, quia fidelis ero serenissimo principi et domino, Sigismundo Augusto, regi Poloniae ac magno duci Lithuaniae. Secreta, quae mihi per suam Maiestatem et consiliarios eius dicentur, contingentia vel maiestatem regiam, magnum ducem Lithuaniae, vel Rempublicam Regni Poloniae nemini revellabo. Quidquid vero scivero, intellexero aut sensero Suae Maiestati Regiae, magno duci et regno, et Reipublicae nocibile et damnosum, praecustodiam et, ne fiat, me opponam et illud, quod efficere potero, avertam. Sic me Deus adiuvet etc.," see *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 530*, no. 24.

Judging by the period of tenure of these positions,[31] at one time there could have been two great notaries working in the chancellery of Radziwiłł the Black. From 1566, a stable number of six great notaries was established. One of the great notaries also served as the land treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the same time. This particular combination of offices was more out of the necessity of having someone who could carry out the functions of a treasurer that were also required in the chancellery—the collection of fees for issued documents and the storage of the state archive in the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. M. Naruševičius, who received this position in 1566 swore, among other things, "to protect all the insignia, privileges, and treasures, the treasury and all the income of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the utmost diligence."[32] In the times of Stephen Bathory (1576–1586), the number of great notaries was reduced to five, yet the tradition that one would continue to hold the position of treasurer remained.[33]

The specialization of notaries did develop, though not to the extent that separate chancelleries for the courts and military could form completely. An exception was the case of treasury notaries. They have been mentioned since 1519 and were subordinate to the great notary and land treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The question of whether they were subordinate to the land treasury or the chancellery remains unclear until the middle of the century. From the beginning of the Volok Reform in 1557, treasury notaries would be appointed to these offices for life. There were three, and sometimes four, treasury notaries working at one time who handled the books of revenue and expenditures. Their competencies were outlined in the ordination of 1568 by the land treasurer and great notary M. Naruševičius.[34] From this date, these officials came under the jurisdiction of the treasury administration of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[35]

As we learn from the appointment of Szymkowicz as great notary in 1555, following the death of Komarowski,[36] the chancellor's approval

31 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 128–129.

32 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 530*, 23–24.

33 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 257.

34 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 111.

35 A. Tyla, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės iždas: XVI amžiaus antroji pusė—XVII amžiaus vidurys* (Vilnius: Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai, 2012), 10–11.

36 January 7, 1555, Vilnius, appointment of J. Szymkawicz as grand clerk of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Archiwum Radziwiłłów I, no. 7718.

was very important in order to receive this position. As a result, all the great notaries were from the Radziwiłłs' circle. For example, Komarowski (†1553) began his career as the notary of the Vilnius palatine's wife, Zofija Goštautienė, and by 1550 he was already serving Radziwiłł the Black and with his intercession, went on to become the king's secretary. As appears in the introduction to Book 239 of the Lithuanian Metrica, having accompanied Sigismund Augustus to Vilnius on July 6, 1551, Komarowski received orders to look after the ruler's court books. That same year or earlier, the last Jagiellon appointed him as the great notary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The great notary had married Dorota Cibulska, a courtier of the deceased queen, Barbara Radziwiłł, while the widow of his brother Krzysztof Komarowski, Rožė Žičilovaitė, remarried in 1553, becoming the wife of the Hrodno master of the stables and future great notary, J. Hajko.[37]

The lower-ranked chancellery staff had a number of technical personnel at their disposal: ordinary notaries, scribes (*d'iaki*), and lesser clerks. Notaries and scribes would write out documents at the order of the rulers and great notaries, or would inscribe them into the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. The lesser clerks would perform the technically least difficult work—rewriting and registration. Depending on their specialization, experts who prepared Ruthenian, Latin, Polish, and German documents worked in the chancellery. Regulations did not outline the precise number of these lower chancellery staff. This would depend on the chancellery leaders and especially the great notaries who were the direct superiors of the technical personnel.

We know of eight notaries who worked for Radziwiłł the Black in 1551–1566, though not just in the chancellery but also in the Vilnius palatine's castle and in the marshal's court. These were Maciej Sawicki, Marcin Mackowicz, Stanisław Mordas, Lukasz Swirski, Stanisław Kosiński, Paweł Burij, Jan Hercik, and the author of the first Polish-Latin dictionary (1564), the lexicographer Jan Mączynski.[38] Radziwiłł the Red (as grand chancellor, Vilnius palatine, and grand hetman) had eleven of his own clerks in 1551–1579. They included Stanisław Bartoszewicz, Klimenty Drozha, Iwan Leszczilowski, Joachim Szostowicki, and others.[39] On occasion, some of them would work in the chancellery. Only several had a university

37 Ragauskienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kancleris*, 310–311.

38 H. Barycz, "Jan Mączynski leksykograf polski XVI wieku," in *Reformacja w Polsce: organ Towarzystwa do Badania Dziejów Reformacji w Polsce* 3 (1924): 218–255.

39 Ibid., 163–168, etc.

education, yet it is clear that all clerks were rather well educated and had experience in working in a chancellery. It appears that their origins from the more advanced Podlasie, in terms of written culture, could have played an important role in their appointment.

We can discern the specific activities of these clerks from an example of work produced by the scribe Sawicki from the chancellery of Radziwiłł the Black. It also illustrates the use of a clerk's services across several institutions, depending on the positions held by the magnate and the demand for these services (in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Vilnius castle court).

> Sawicki originally hailed from the Podlasie palatinate, which was significantly more linguistically and culturally Polish than other parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the middle of the sixteenth century. His background was either city-based, or his ancestors could have been lesser nobles from Masovia who settled in Podlasie. In his youth, he entered the court of Wołłowicz, and with his patron's intercession, in 1551 he became a scribe in the chancellery of Radziwiłł the Black. In 1552–1562, Sawicki specialized in writing registers (of the Sapiehas' and the Vilnius palatine Hlebowicz's documents, etc.). In 1553–1554 he entered cases into the Vilnius palatine and his regent's court book, which survived as Book 245 of the Lithuanian Metrica. As the chancellor's scribe (*dyak*) (until 1554), and later as a clerk, he wrote up or signed various public and private documents of the Radziwiłłs, mostly deeds and charters for the granting of land and domains. In fact, he is still sometimes mentioned as a scribe in 1562. This would indicate that the terms scribe and clerk were synonyms, or that the nature of work was the same across both positions. Whilst also being very fluent in Polish, Sawicki wrote and signed documents in the chancellery in Ruthenian. Once his career developed, he accrued his own lesser scribes: until 1558 he was assisted by Wojciechowski from Mstibov. During fifteen years of work in the chancellery of Radziwiłł the Black (1551–1565), Sawicki broke through into the layer of wealthy nobles and became the administrator of Melnik. His career did not end after the magnate's death in 1565. Having earned the trust of King Sigismund Augustus and the support of representatives of the Radziwiłł family (Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Orphan and Radziwiłł the Red), Sawicki rose up the ranks to become a high official in the ruler's court and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Lithuanian secretary of the ruler

and great notary). In 1574 he became a senator of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—the Podlasie castellan.

Aside from the mentioned Protasewicz, only two staff from the sixteenth-century chancellery reached a higher ranking than Sawicki—Eustachy Wołłowicz and Lew Sapieha, however both of these figures started from an incomparably better position in terms of social origins and material wealth.[40]

In the sixteenth century, chartulary in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was conducted mainly in Ruthenian. The extent of its use is evident from the dissatisfaction of the nobility from the palatinates incorporated into Poland in 1569 over having received documents in Polish. In March 29 of that year, the nobles of Volhynia appealed to Sigismund Augustus over the ruler's universal charter which ordered swearing allegiance to the Crown—they protested that the document had been written in an unusual way—in Polish. In their instructions to delegates to the sejm, in 1570 the Kiev nobility wrote that their parents had not taught them Polish in their youth, only their native Ruthenian, and that there was no Polish school in Kiev, which is why they could not understand the ruler's letters written in Polish with Latin inserts they had received.[41] Some clerks who did know Latin issued documents in Latin. This work was better paid than that of the Ruthenian clerks. In 1562, the ruler's secretary and Latin document clerk Mączynski received an annual salary of as much as a hundred grivna.[42]

As was the case earlier, mostly for diplomatic matters, there were some Tatar and Arabian clerks who worked in the chancellery, for example, in 1578 the Arabian clerk Chasen Tabilganovich received lands in the Hrodno eldership for his work in the chancellery. Sometime later, in 1585, the Tatar translator and envoy to the Horde Kazimierz Sandikowicz and his son Dawid received domains of various sizes in the Trakai palatinate. Ismail Kulzimanovich received land in the Rodūnia estate for the work of

40 Ragauskienė, "XVI a. ikireforminio Vilniaus pilies teismo raštininko," 583.

41 Kulakov'skyi, *Kantseliariia Rus'koi*, 74–75: "Кгды ж з молодости вшого писма отцове наши учит нас не давали, одно своего прирожоного руского, а школы теж полское в Киеве не машъ, а кгды приносят листы его кр м писаные полскими литерами з мешанемъ латынскимъ латынских слов, вырозумети не можем."

42 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 270.

his father, the Arabian translator and clerk, Ilya Kulzimanovich.[43] Also as a result of the diplomatic affairs in the chancellery, there were a number of clerks who knew German. Clerks of German origins who had learnt Ruthenian could have been hired. We have examples where Germans studied Ruthenian to be able to deal with commercial matters, for example, in 1551 Duke Andrzej Odincewicz announced that a German boy from Riga who had been learning Ruthenian had run away from his estate.[44]

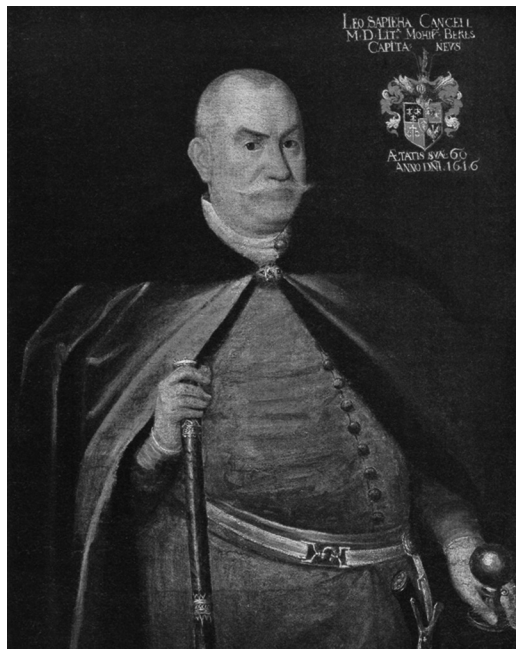

Figure 6. *Chancellor and palatine of Vilnius Lew Sapieha (1557–1633).* (Photograph by Klaudijus Driskius)

43 Lithuanian Metrica Book 59, Lithuanian State History Archives [accessed on microfilm kept at the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, fascicle 59, p. 164v; *Metryka Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga. Kniga 70 (1582–1585). Kniga Zapisau №. 70*, ed. A. A. Miatsel'ski (Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2008), 251–252.

44 Lithuanian Metrica Book 240, Lithuanian State History Archives [accessed on microfilm kept at the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, fascicle 240, 219.

The Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 1579–1623

This was a period when the chancellery was headed by Eustachy Wołłowicz and Lew Sapieha, both of whom made their careers in the institution after breaking into the magnates' estate from the middle gentry. They both had a wealth of experience in working in the chancellery, having gone through all the steps in the institution—from scribes and notaries to chancellors. They were not "weighed down" by the burden of also having to serve as palatines of Vilnius. The earlier tradition of combining chancellorship with the duties of a Vilnius palatine ended. Thus, when Sapieha received the Vilnius palatinate in 1623, he relinquished the chancellor's post, passing it on to the vice-chancellor at the time, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł.

Sapieha was the first chancellor in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with a university education (fig. 6). The future sealbearer, son of the Orsha administrator Iwan Sapieha and Duchess Bohdana Drucka Sokolińska, is likely to have studied at Leipzig University with the sons of Radziwiłł the Black in 1571. Despite only working as a clerk in the Orsha castle court upon returning to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for some time, soon, garnering the protectionism of the Radziwiłłs, he entered the ruler's court in 1579 from where he developed his career. In 1580 he became the ruler's secretary, and rose up to great notary one year later.[45] He was probably already acting as the vice-chancellor at this time, as Radziwiłł the Thunder who officially held this post hardly interfered in the chancellery's work at all. The Radziwiłłs were but a step towards seeking the position of Vilnius palatine. In 1585, as a result of the intercession of Radziwiłł the Thunder who had become the palatine of Vilnius, and Wołłowicz, Sapieha became the vice-chancellor, and from May 24, 1589, his appointment to the chancellorship (after the death of Wołłowicz in December, 1587)[46] became the height of his career. Requests for his intercession in new offices in the court and domains went through his hands on a massive scale, his knowledge of the landholdings system was exemplary, which meant he could use this information to request lands for himself and those in his circle from the ruler. In this way, over the course of a couple of decades, the protectionism

45 A. Czwołek, *Piórem i buławą, Działalność polityczna Lwa Sapiehy kanclerza litewskiego, wojewody wileńskiego* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), 22–25, 38.

46 For a specified date for the death of Eustachy Wołłowicz, see G. Breger, "Gal′shanski maentak Astafeiia Bagdanavicha Valovicha: ziamlia i liudi," in *Valovichy u gistoryi*, 272–273.

of the Radziwiłłs and working in the chancellery helped Sapieha rise from being an unknown member of the middle gentry to become one of the state elites.

At the end of the sixteenth–first half of the seventeenth centuries, the state's domestic and foreign policy affairs continued to be an important function among the chancellors. Both Wołłowicz and Sapieha can be merited for their work in the preparation of the Third Statute of Lithuania. In 1588, Sapieha received the ruler's privilege which gave him exclusive rights to publish the Statute. Supplementing the original Ruthenian text of the Statute with a preface aimed at the estates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the magnate dedicated the Statute to Sigismund II Vasa (1587–1632)—both the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania and published it in Vilnius at the Mamonich printing house. We also know about Sapieha's activities in organizing sejms and sejmiks. Of the thirty-seven sejms organized during the reign of Sigismund Vasa, Sapieha worked at thirty-five of them. Both of these chancellors who went on to become magnates dedicated a great deal of attention to relations with the state of Muscovy. Even before becoming leaders of the chancellery, they both participated in diplomatic legations, organized instructions for delegates, and were responsible for the content and careful storage of diplomatic correspondence with this Lithuanian neighbor.[47] The background of these chancellors helped them realize Eastern foreign policy priorities. Wołłowicz and Sapieha were born in Orthodox families and were raised in the spirit of this religion. Later on, both converted to Protestantism. Wołłowicz remained an Evangelical Reformed believer for the rest of his life, while Sapieha later converted to Catholicism, in order to simplify his climbing up the career ladder.

During the period of Wołłowicz's chancellorship, there were no major structural reforms of the chancellery. The institution functioned in accordance with the procedures established in 1566–1574. Whilst still the vice-chancellor, towards the end of Sigismund Augustus's reign, Wołłowicz played a special role as the ruler's assessor in court. At the coronation sejm of Henry Valois in 1574, it was outlined that as in Poland, assessors' courts in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had to hear cases under the chairmanship of the chancellor (vice-chancellor) and referendaries and notaries

47 Wołłowicz's influence in the formation of Lithuania's foreign policy on the Livonian question is comparable to that of the "grey cardinal's" role. See: A. Ianushkevich, "Pershae dzesiatsigoddze dzeinasci Astafeia Valovicha na dyplamatychnai arene (1553–1562 gg.)," in *Valovichy u gistoryi*, 314.

with chartulary experience had to participate. Chancellors could sign court rulings. Under the leadership of Wołłowicz as chancellor, separate books of Magdeburgian city court rulings were compiled (or survived only from 1579) and entered into the Metrica (Book 273 of the Lithuanian Metrica, and others).[48] As the areas of expertise of notaries during the times of Sapieha increased, some specialists earned particular distinction, such as the long-serving magnate's servant Maciej Bożymiński, who, according to the chancellor, "writes Magdeburgian decrees in my chancellery."[49]

The major chancellery's regent's position, who was subordinate to the chancellor and would have to receive the king's confirmation, appeared during Sapieha's tenure at the chancellery. This regent gradually became the most important figure after the chancellor in the major chancellery. The first official to serve in this role, though only sporadically in 1596–1597, was Korwin Gosiewski. It was he who was responsible for the books of the Metrica: In 1597 he was approached by the Vitebsk palatine, Mikołaj Sapieha, with a request to find necessary documents in the books.[50] The regent actively participated in the rewriting of the Metrica books that commenced in 1596, in the preparation of the copied books such as Book 15,[51] and marked down information related to the rewriting (the time, and sometimes the clerk).

When the chancellors changed, to an extent the vice-chancellors, great notaries, and technical staff specialists also changed, taking the opportunity to improve their careers. Vice-chancellors changed particularly often. From 1615, after the death of Gabriel Wojna, a member of the clergy was appointed as vice-chancellor—the Vilnius canon and religious referendary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Eustachy Wołłowicz (1615–1618). He worked in the chancellery as the chief clerk for over ten years. Developing his career in the Church, once he became the bishop of Vilnius he transferred his vice-chancellor's position to his brother, the land treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Hieronym Wołłowicz (1618–1619). One

48 A. Ragauskas, "Lukas Markovičius 'Mundijus' ir jo byla," in *Vilniaus burmistro Luko Markovičiaus "Mundijaus" kalbos, laiškai ir kiti raštai (1551–1584 m.)*, ed. A. Ragauskas and R. Ragauskienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, 2010), xxxviii–xl.

49 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 259.

50 September 13, 1597, Koden, M. Sapieha to A. Gosiewski, *Archiwum domu Sapiehow wydane staraniem rodziny*, vol. 1: *Listy z lat 1575–1606*, ed. A. Prochaska (Lwów: Z drukarni zakładu narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1932), 164–165.

51 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15*, 34.

year later, the latter received the eldership of Žemaitija. In 1619, the new vice-chancellor became the Lutsk administrator, A. S. Radziwiłł.

Chancellors tried to appoint or intercede on behalf of people in their circle when offices became vacant. For example, Wołłowicz began his career in the court thanks to Sawicki, the great notary Andrzej Obrinski is mentioned as the magnate's "friend" in 1579, while in 1588 Sapieha and Radziwiłł the Thunder recommended Gabriel Wojna to the position of vice-chancellor.[52] Sapieha promoted his most loyal servants who worked in the chancellery further on in their careers, helping a number of them reach higher peaks. For example, he secured the position of voigt in Merkinė for the assessor's court clerk who arrived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Poland, the aforementioned noble Bożymiński, while in 1589, with the chancellor's intercession, he received the position of voigt in Vilnius. Bożymiński successfully held on to this position for twenty years. He was related to another individual, also from Sapieha's circle—Korwin Gosiewski, having married his sister. In 1610 after the death of the ruler's referendary Bohdan Chreptowicz, Bożymiński asked Gosiewski to convince the chancellor to give him the vacant referendary's position. According to Bożymiński, "it would suit me perfectly, as I cannot hold a land [position] in Lithuania, while sealbearers would always [appoint] their servants to this position." However, on account of Bożymiński's death in 1610, it was Korwin Gosiewski who became the referendary.[53]

Sapieha himself became the vice-chancellor through the intercession of both Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Thunder and Eustachy Wołłowicz, who whilst serving as the chancellor had the chance to observe the potential of Sapieha, then working as the great notary, and his achievements: In 1581–1585 he managed books 68 and 70 of the Lithuanian Metrica. Wołłowicz appears to have really valued the notary's activities. Sapieha's dedication to his work in the chancellery (which was also personally beneficial) is evident from his notes about the procedures for the issue of documents, the search for specific copies in the Metrica books, and the actual task of rewriting the books of the Lithuanian Metrica.

Upon becoming the chancellor, Sapieha took over the state documents being kept by Wołłowicz. In a document dated to late 1588 where

52 January 17, 1588, Kraków, Gabriel Wojna to Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Thunder, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Archiwum Radziwiłłów V, no. 17675.

53 A. Ragauskas, "Renkamos Vilniaus vaitijos genezė: XVI a. pabaiga ar XVII a. pradžia?," *Istorija* 57 (2003): 31.

Sigismund III Vasa settled his accounts with Wołłowicz's descendants, it was noted that the former chancellor "had within his scope and protected" state documentation—"state privileges, metricas, and chancellery books."[54] Nonetheless, according to Sapieha himself, "numerous metricas" were missing from the treasury, especially those handled during the times of the Radziwiłł cousins that had "settled down" in their archives. It was not long before the new chancellor received requests from magnates for help in retrieving the ruler's privileges or to find documents of interest to them in the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. Sources provide us with information about the intense search for documents requested by nobles and magnates during the time of Sapieha's chancellorship. Some of the documents kept in the treasury (around 700) had been registered. Probably during Wołłowicz's period in service, in around 1584,[55] the first such inventory could have been made,[56] known as Book 1 and Book 2 of the Lithuanian Metrica. A considerable number of documents were not registered, and were entered into the Metrica books often without any titles. As a result, the chancellery staff had to simply leaf through the books searching for the required documents.

Lew Sapieha helped the Radziwiłłs quite a lot in their search for documents. In late 1588, the chancellor tried to retrieve the ruler's privilege for his future father-in-law—the Vilnius palatine Radziwiłł the Thunder, regarding holding fairs in Koydanava. He also checked the dates the fair could be held, not wanting to issue an incomplete document—"a privilege with blanks," as according to the chancellor, "these kinds of privileges are immediately entered into the Metrica, and so it shall remain there, with a blank."[57] This case "regarding blanks" is also very important in clarifying an as yet less-researched question about the time frame for officially entering issued documents into the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. In 1591–1594, Sapieha ordered a search for documents requested by Radziwiłł the Orphan. One search revealed over a dozen quires of the necessary documents which the chancellor ordered be copied by one of the chancellery staff.[58] For each

54 Mikulski, "Dokumenty z archiwum," 72.

55 Jakubowski, "Archiwum państwowe," 4.

56 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 1 (1380–1584). Užrašymų knyga 1*, ed. A. Baliulis and R. Firkovičius (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1998), 7.

57 September 14, 1588, Miendzirečė, Lew Sapieha to Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Thunder, *Archiwum Domu Radziwiłłów*, ed. A. Sokołowski (Kraków: Drukarnia Wł. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1885), 197.

58 April 20, 1591, March 22, 1594, Miendzirečė, Lew Sapieha to Radziwiłł the Orphan, *Archiwum domu Sapiehów*, vol. 1, 210.

similarly issued document, the chancellor would receive reimbursement, the sum of which had not yet been regulated.[59] When it came to friends or even their servants, he issued them documents and expected their intercession or other forms of assistance.

As a result of the intense use, the books of the Lithuanian Metrica deteriorated, due to friction the pages thinned and inscriptions faded. The person rewriting Book 15 of the Metrica added a note at the end that there was nothing left to rewrite as the pages had been worn down too much. A decision was made at the end of the sixteenth century to rewrite the original books that were in the treasury at the time. This was one of the grandest projects undertaken in the chancellery implemented under the leadership of Lew Sapieha. The rewriting of approximately 150 books in the treasury took from 1594–1596 until 1598–1599, or thereabouts. Document titles were added during the rewriting process that had not appeared on the originals; some of the rewritten books had a note added that the information in the documents had been checked with the original texts. It is the copies of the rewritten books that have survived to our days, and not the originals. The original books were lost, mostly during the years of the Deluge in the mid-seventeenth century.

The task, which took no less than five years, was completed at the end of the sixteenth century, hence the instruction of Sigismund Vasa in 1604 to find an entry for the Crown cupbearer Adam Hieronim Seniowski from "our Metrica books, both the old and the new."[60] The tremendous task was performed by the chancellery clerks and literate people who had probably been additionally hired especially for this job, no less than twenty. In 1599, at the chancellor's orders, the rewriters—*chlopęta, co metryki przepisują*—received clothing valued at an enormous sum of seventy-nine kappa of groschen for their work.[61] This indicates that the number of rewriters was indeed considerable. Clerks of Polish origins clearly dominated: Daniel Delszkano rewrote Book 237; Albert Drożecki rewrote Book 15 in 1596; Aleksander Jacinich rewrote books 4 and 56 in 1597; A. Judzicki rewrote Book 562 in 1596; Makar Geskowski rewrote Book 40; Stanisław Gralewski rewrote Book 37; Walerijan Marchacz rewrote and checked Book 34; Paweł

59 A. Rachuba, "Księgi Sigillat Metryki Litewskiej," *Przegląd Historyczny* 1 (1972): 95–110.

60 February 20, 1604, Kraków, Sigismund Vasa to Lew Sapieha, *Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie*, no. 345, 15.

61 G. Ia. Galenchanka, *Metryka Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga: gystoriia, dasledavanni, vydanni (karotki narys)* (Minsk: BelNIIDAD, 2014), 9.

Radecki rewrote Book 42; Tomasz Rozen rewrote Book 41 in 1597; Grzegorz Terlecki rewrote and checked Book 73, and Viszczynski—Book 49. One of the leaders was Adam Paszkiewicz, who rewrote at least seven books.[62] Admittedly, the task was carried out attentively. As a comparison of separate documents entered into the copied books of the Lithuanian Metrica and the surviving original documents shows, the copies are mostly accurate and reliable, while any omissions, when they do emerge, are insignificant.[63]

Probably the first review of the vice-chancellors' Metrica books was conducted in around 1618–1619, and in 1623, when Sapieha transferred the chancellorship to Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł, the chancellor's Metrica books were also reviewed (see chapter 6).[64] So ended the brief yet intense and distinguished period in the history of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica, which lasted from the end of the sixteenth to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

62 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 80–90, 113–120.

63 Introduction, *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 29 (1546–1547). Užrašymų knyga 29*, ed. I. Ilarienė (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2016), xv–xvii.

64 D. Antanavičius, "Reviziia knig Litovskoi Metriki 1641 g. i formirovvaniie samostoiatel′noi gruppy vitse-kantslerskikh knig," in *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijos šaltiniai: Faktas. Kontekstas. Interpretacija*, ed. A. Dubonis et al. (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2007), 169–173.

Chapter 5

The Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its Staff from the 1620s to the Eighteenth Century

The chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania grew much more productive and specialized. Over two thirds of the surviving books of the Lithuanian Metrica were created in the period discussed in this chapter. The structure of the institution's personnel also changed. The increased specialization of its staff entrenched the new positions of regent, decree clerk, secretary of the seal and so-called *metrykants* that characterized the remainder of the period. The tumultuous events in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, draining wars, uprisings, and confederations, and the first two partitions of the state all left their mark. New rules for the functioning of the chancellery formed, the language used in chartulary also changed. As Polonization intensified, in 1697 Polish was officially confirmed as the language to be used in documentation, instead of Ruthenian (Chancellery Slavonic). The complexity of the period is sometimes even physically evident in the chancellery's documents, like the surviving mud stains on the pages of Book 124 of the Lithuanian Metrica, hurriedly

picked up by some nobleman from the ground at the king's camp after the Battle of Zborov in 1649.[1]

The Highest-Ranked Sworn Officials: Sealbearers (Chancellors) and Notaries

During the course of over 170 years (1623–1795), barely ten individuals headed the major chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Changes in this position were rare: as many as four chancellors held this post for over twenty years, another four held it for more than fifteen years, and only two for more than five years. Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł was the longest-serving chancellor at thirty-four years (1623–1656) (fig. 7), second was Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac at twenty-six years in service as chancellor (1658–1684), Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski—twenty-two years (1752–1775), and Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł—a little over twenty years (1698–1719). Most chancellors were appointed to this office after having served as vice-chancellors. In the period being discussed, a total of sixteen people acted as vice-chancellors—beginning with Paweł Stefan Sapieha (1623–1635) and ending with Kazimierz Konstanty Plater (1746–1807).[2] Unlike the previous period, half of these individuals received these positions without having any prior experience in the chancellery. For example, the land standard-bearer K. Z. Pac was appointed as vice-chancellor after the intercession of his patron, the chancellor at the time A. S. Radziwiłł, and due to his wife's connections with the ruler's court: In 1654 the papal nuncio married K. Z. Pac to Klara Isabelle de Mailly, a distant relative of Marie Louise Gonzaga and her first lady-in-waiting.

Before long, in 1656, he was appointed as vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1658 he received the majestic seal. Incidentally, the magnate's wife also succeeded in becoming the first lady-in-waiting of the new ruler Michael Karibut's wife, Eleanor. Pac was ridiculed somewhat in the pamphlets of the time for "pandering his wife to the new queen like some kind of drinking companion, who extracts all she can of her highness,

1 Lithuanian Metrica Book 124, Lithuanian State History Archives [accessed on microfilm kept at the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, notebook 124, p. 1v, 110–111v; Dumin, S. V. "Litovskaia Metrika v XVII veke," in *Issledovania po istorii Litovskoi Metriki*, vol. 1, 85.

2 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 53, 147–149.

and even teaches her all manner of dishonorable and fiendish acts of cunning" (fig. 8).[3]

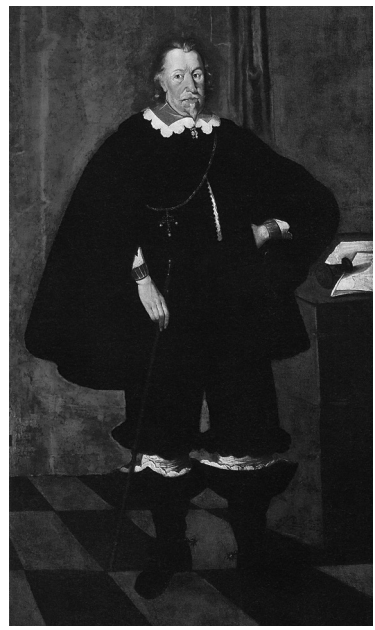

Figure 7. *Chancellor Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł (1593–1656).* (Photograph by Klaudijus Driskius)

Only six vice-chancellors of the mentioned sixteen became actual chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was the long periods in service of the chancellery leaders that stopped the deputies from rising up the career ladder. However, even when the chancellor's office became vacant, it would not automatically be taken by his deputy. In 1684, after the death of K. Z. Pac, King Jan Sobieski gave the majestic seal to the Trakai palatine Marcjan Aleksander Ogiński, perhaps because he feared the exposure of some kind of compromising material, though most probably because he wanted to distance the latter from the Sapiehas. Not having received an expected promotion, the Vice-Chancellor Dominik Mikołaj Radziwiłł sent letters of protest to the Lithuanian sejmiks. One year later at the sejmik

3 M. Paknys, "Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas ir jo aplinkos moterys," *Lietuvių katalikų mokslų akademijos metraštis* 18 (2001): 371; K. Bobiatyński, *Michał Kazimierz Pac—wojewoda wileński hetman wielki litewski. Działalność polityczno wojskowa* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2008), 48.

assemblies, the nobility questioned the ruler's universal charters issued from the Lithuanian chancellery, considering them invalid, because Ogiński had received his chancellor's position outside of a sejm.[4]

For all the sealbearers—the synonymous title given to chancellors—except for Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki (chancellor in 1720–1735), this was the highest and last position in their careers. Only Wiśniowiecki had to resign as chancellor in 1735 when he received the positions of Vilnius palatine and grand hetman. Unlike earlier, from 1669 the hetman could no longer also be the sealbearer, and vice versa.[5] One of the reasons for this kind of decision was the dissatisfaction that arose over the appointment of Vice-Chancellor Mikołaj Kazimierz Radziwiłł (from 1668 to 1680) as field hetman (1668–1680).[6] As the prohibition did not apply in reverse, M. K. Radziwiłł kept both positions. Yet this did not mean that the significance of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania diminished. It was no wonder that A. S. Radziwiłł refused the position of Vilnius palatine he was offered in 1652, believing that the chancellorship could offer him more opportunities to hold influence in state affairs. Thus, it was representatives of the elite families—the Radziwiłłs, Sapiehas, Pacs, Ogińskis, Czartoryskis, and Wiśniowieckis—who had a university education and continued to be appointed as sealbearers. An exception was the case of the last chancellor, Joachim Litawor Chreptowicz (1729–1812), the son of the Verbeliai administrator, Marcjan Chreptowicz, who played no political role in the state whatsoever.

He was a new figure in Lithuanian politics. It was not so much his family's historic past, reaching back into the fifteenth century,[7] as his education and the exclusive grace of the king. Chreptowicz studied at the Vilnius Academy, and at the Braunsberg Jesuit College, and was one of the most enlightened figures in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the late eighteenth century, not to mention a physiocrat. In 1754 he became the

4 A. Malejka, *Radziwiłłowie a polityka Jana III Sobieskiego w latach 1684–1696* (Katowice: Axis Media, 2012), 53–70. R. Kołodziej, "Litewski sejmik generalny w Słonymiu na tle sytuacji w Rzeczypospolitej przed sejmem 1685 roku," *Res Historica* 40 (2015): 101, 104 (R. Ragauskienė thanks Dr Gintautas Sliesoriūnas for this reference).

5 *Volumina Legum*, vol. 5 (Petersburg: J. Ohryzka, 1860), 11.

6 The privilege to hold the position of field hetman had the so-called "blanks"—empty gaps left for the surname and date to be entered. This information was only entered in later, in November 1668. See: *Urzędnicy centralni i dostojnicy*, no. 166.

7 K. Tracki, *Ostatni kanclerz litewski Joachim Litawor Chreptowicz w okresie sejmu czteroletniego 1788–1792* (Vilnius: Czas, 2007), 26.

Navahrudak pantler, in 1764—the Navahrudak marshal and great secretary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in 1773 he became vice-chancellor, and finally, towards the very end of the state's existence, on June 14, 1793, he was appointed chancellor. He distanced himself from political activity after the Third Partition and devoted himself to science. He had amassed a library of around 10,000 volumes, where he kept an enormous collection of manuscripts (among them were copies of the Second Statute of Lithuania), engravings, and maps. He was a rather prolific writer on economic topics and was interested in beekeeping. He abolished serfdom at his estates, and only hired hands worked on his farms while the peasants paid a *Zins* tax.[8]

CHRISTOPHORVS PAC SVPREMVS M.D.L. CANCELLA
RIVS EREMITARVM CAMALDVLENSIVM PRIMVS IN LITVANIA AD
CAVNAM IN MONTE PACIS FVNDATOR. ANNO 1677.

Figure 8. *Chancellor Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac (1621–1684). 1677, Pažaislis, Camaldolese Monastery, painted by Michele Arcangelo Palloni (1642-1712).* (Photograph by Klaudijus Driskius)

The sealbearers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania participated in various degrees in domestic and foreign politics. One of the prerogatives of their activities was the coordination of foreign policy in a traditional region, the East, especially in relations with Russia. Poland's sealbearers handled the Commonwealth's relations with the West. During the complicated Deluge period in the middle of the seventeenth century, Lithuanian and Polish sealbearers had to coordinate their efforts in dealing with Sweden. K. Z. Pac was very active in the difficult period of the war against Sweden and Russia.

8 K. Tracki, "Paskutinė Lietuvos fiziokrato disertacija, Joakimas Liutauras Chreptavičius," in *Apie gamtos tvarką*, ed. E. Piurko and S. Paukštela (Vilnius: Santara, 2014), 6–45.

In 1654–1667 he led negotiations with Swedish and Russian envoys, and took care of Lithuanian military affairs. The chancellor sought to establish an eternal truce with Russia, and recover the captured territories. He contributed considerably to the signing of the Truce of Andrusovo of 1667 and later agreements reached between the Commonwealth's and Muscovy's commissions. In relations with Sweden, Pac sought to recapture Livonia using military forces.[9] This chancellor was active in domestic politics as well. Note that at the sejm of 1673, he secured the passing of the constitution whereby every third sejm would convene in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in Hrodno.[10] The sealbearers' deeds within Lithuania are illustrated in the activities of Vice-Chancellor J. L. Chreptowicz in 1773–1778. Having earned the strong trust of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795)—in 1766 he married the ruler's relative, Konstancija Przeździecka—the unconditionally royalist vice-chancellor held the "threads of Grand Duchy of Lithuania politics" in his hands, being quite prominent both in the public and backstage in politics. In 1773, the sealbearer immediately became a member of the "ruler's cabinet." One of his most important achievements in political activity at the time was the organization of sejms and sejmiks. Even his contemporaries acknowledged the vice-chancellor's role in preparing the education reforms, specifically those affecting Lithuanian schools. In 1776 he embarked on putting the Polish code of laws into order (known as the Zamoyski Code), participating in the associated publicity campaign. In 1778 he became a member of the Permanent Council under the ruler.[11]

> No document issued by the ruler was considered valid unless it bore the seals, or authorizations made by the chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1703 Augustus II signed a document for the allocation of positions. As Chancellor K. S. Radziwiłł was not present at the time, the document could not be stamped and it was given to the Polish Chancellor Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski for safekeeping.[12] Sealbearers also continued to attend to the Lithuanian Metrica. The Lithuanian Metrica had been brought

9 V. Kamuntavičienė, "LDK kancleris Kristupo Zigmanto Paco santykis su Lenkijos ir Lietuvos valstybės valdovais ir jų dvarais," *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis. 1998 metai* (1999): 24–36.

10 *Volumina Legum*, vol. 5, 67.

11 Tracki, *Ostatni kanclerz Litewski*, 38–70.

12 J. Burdowicz-Nowicki, *Piotr I, August II i Rzeczpospolita 1697–1706* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Arcana, 2013), 340.

> to Warsaw, where its transliteration into Latin commenced in 1777. Twenty-nine volumes (of the sixty-two old books of the Metrica) were rewritten.[13]

As we can see, sealbearers had to constantly be at the ruler's court. Because the leader of the Commonwealth spent increasingly more time residing in Warsaw during the period being discussed, the location of the chancellery changed accordingly—the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania moved from Vilnius to Warsaw. The constitution from the sejm of 1773 even obligated chancellors and vice-chancellors to live in Warsaw for at least six months.[14] A. S. Radziwiłł resided there permanently. Pac's itineraria also indicates that he often stayed in Warsaw or at Belvedere, the representational estate he fitted out himself, practically near the border of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Lithuanian chancellery was housed in rented brick houses belonging to burghers in Warsaw, or in several premises in the sealbearers' chambers. For example, in 1669 the chancellor's chancellery was established in the Fukers' brick house on Market Square, and in the Dobrzańskis' house (Dunaju St.), while the vice-chancellor's offices were in the Wiszyńskis' house (also located at Dunaju St.). After 1773, the aforementioned Vice-Chancellor Chreptowicz purchased a palace in Warsaw (at 543 Długa St.), and also owned a large house in Warsaw's Marymont suburb.[15]

Another group of sworn officials also maintained strong positions in the chancellery—the great notaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. As the historian and lawyer Reinhold Heidenstein noted in the early seventeenth century, they were the most important figures in the passing of public and private resolutions. Their importance increased also as a result of the regulation passed in 1632 whereby great notaries had to sign on the right-hand side of a document, leaving the left-hand side for the signatures of the king or sealbearer. Without the great notary's signature, a document would be considered judicially invalid. As this regulation was not adhered to very often when the notaries were not present in the court, Jan Sobieski tried to reduce their number, transferring some of them to senatorial positions that were of less importance. Yet, this was in vain and the chancellery reverted to keeping six great notaries in service, as confirmed back in

13 *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Zespoł Metryka Litewska, ML 191A–ML 219. See chapter 8.

14 *Volumina Legum*, vol. 8 (Petersburg: J. Ohryzka, 1860), 76.

15 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 260–261.

1566. In addition, from 1709, the position of religious notary also emerged, however there is insufficient data thus far about the details of this notary's functions.[16]

If we look at the staff structure of the great notaries in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, we notice that it was not the ordinary nobility that pursued these positions. The ranks of the notaries included several representatives from the Sapieha, Zawisza, Brzostowski, Tyzenhaus, Tyszkiewicz, and other magnate families. A number of them began their careers from lower positions in the chancellery, such as regent or *metrykant*, and were indebted to the sealbearers for their promotions. Many were from the chancellors' or vice-chancellors' circle of clients. For example, beginning their careers as chancellery regents, the canons of the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter Franciszek Dołmat-Isajkowski (notary in 1641–1649) and Jan Dowgiałło Zawisza (notary in 1649–1656) were grateful to Chancellor A. S. Radziwiłł. Both had well-established careers in the Church. Dołmat-Isajkowski was appointed as bishop of Smolensk, becoming the last Catholic bishop residing in this city until 1654,[17] while Dowgiałło Zawisza eventually became the bishop of Vilnius.

It was already mentioned that the officials of the Lithuanian treasury formally separated from the chancellery in 1568. However, the books of the Lithuanian Metrica still contain a number of copies of treasury documents. Beginning with documents from the times of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Władysław Vasa (1632–1648), these documents may be grouped into nomination documents regarding appointments to offices in the treasury, economic privileges, the ruler's confirmations, and treasurers' reports made during sejms.[18]

Due to the increased specialization in this institution, following Poland's example, in 1645 a completely independent position of sworn decree notary separate from the major and minor chancelleries emerged.[19] Before then, a special chancellery notary had handled court rulings, and in 1699 it was announced that the position of decree notary was superior to that of prosecutor (instigator). Yet this must have been applied to the

16 Ibid., 257–258.

17 T. Wasilewski, "Dołmat-Isajkowski Franciszek," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 10 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1962–1964), 170.

18 V. Galubovich, "Materyialy pa gistorii skarbu VKL u knigakh zapisau za peryiad praulennia Uladzislava IV Vazy," *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 17 (2002): 73–87.

19 A. Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 266.

specific case of decree notary Jan Dionysus Romanowicz. Later on, the decree notary continued to be treated as of a lower rank than the prosecutor.

> The mentioned decree notary Romanowicz was believed to be of noble origins, in terms of heraldry, he has been associated with the Seibut-Romanowiczs of the Lubicz coat of arms. His origins were confirmed in a special constitution at the Hrodno sejm in 1678. The notary hailed from a Ruthenian family, whose several representatives were among the Vilnius ruling elite. His father, Aleksander Romanowicz, having converted from the Uniate faith to become passionately Catholic, was the burgomaster of Vilnius, while his brother, the medical doctor Stanisław Leopold, and cousin Jan were also burgomasters. In 1676–1691, J. D. Romanowicz was the deputy prosecutor, before receiving a privilege to take the office of prosecutor in 1692. The privilege highlighted Romanowicz's proficiency in laws, and he undoubtedly had a university education. Nonetheless, he did not succeed in holding the position of prosecutor very long, being unable to withstand the competition against the king's secretary and former *metrykant*, Kazimierz Stanisław Witakowski. That is why, in 1693, he received a new position as decree notary, which he held for the rest of his life until 1701.[20]

Sworn decree notaries already had their own staff—a chancellery supervised by its regent. Some of the known regents of decree notaries from the second half of the seventeenth century included Joachim Antoniewicz (†1680) and Jan Kazimierz Leszkiewski (†1700), who were from the families of Vilnius burghers. They were both professional lawyers and king's secretaries.

> The first began his career in 1663–1668 as the home court notary of his uncle, the Vilnius voigt Stefan Karol Biliński. In a document dating to 1668, he was already identified as the regent of the decrees chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He held this position in 1671, and became one of the Vilnius benchers the following year. He might have continued to serve as the regent, as in his last will drafted in 1680, he stressed his health had deteriorated due to the constant, difficult work performed in the sejm, royal, and assessors' courts and commissions. He was paralyzed for some time towards the end of his life. His last will indicated that he would receive a considerable salary of 500 złoty from the treasury. The career of the

20 A. Ragauskas, *Vilniaus miesto valdantysis elitas XVII a. antrojoje pusėje (1662–1702 m.)* (Vilnius: Diemedis, 2002), 351.

> other decree notary's regent, Leszkiewski, was associated with the Vilnius diocese. He was the notary at the bishop's jurisdiction court, later becoming the consistory court notary and prosecutor. In 1680 he became the decree chancellery's regent, having been promoted by the Church hierarchs, and held this position for the rest of his life. He compiled the books of acts of the assessor's and royal court in 1680. In 1691, Leszkiewski finally became the Vilnius voigt. The voigt's privilege highlighted his excellent awareness of legal matters, and his dedication displayed when working in the sejm, royal, and assessor's courts.[21]

Even though the king would appoint the decree notary, the sealbearer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had to also first grant his approval.[22] Therefore, decree notaries usually belonged to one or another magnate camp. For example, the Radziwiłłs represented members of the Jeleński family, who were for a long time appointed as these officials in the late eighteenth century. Gedeon Jeleński held the position of decree notary for twenty-four years. In 1776 he resigned from this position in favor of his nephew, one of the more distinctive nobles from the Mozyr district (*powiat*) of the late eighteenth century, the Mozyr administrator (from 1786), land court judge, sword-bearer, and district marshal, Jan Jeleński.[23] In recognition of his many years at the chancellery, the ruler awarded Gedeon Jeleński with the Order of St. Stanislaus, later, he also received the highest award in the Commonwealth—the Order of the White Eagle.[24] The decree notary could appoint a regent to his chancellery with the ruler's prior approval. The decree notary would give the books containing registers to the chancellery *metrykant*, and would be given a receipt. For example, in Warsaw on May, 1784, the decree notary Jan Jeleński gave the *metrykant* Felix Schubert the books and their register. These books started being kept in 1748.[25]

21 Ibid., 352–353.

22 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 267.

23 E. Rabowicz, "Gedeon Jeleński; T. Wasilewski, Jan Jeleński," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 11, 140–141.

24 Incidentally, the prestige of such widely available orders was not so great. Contemporaries would joke that "today it has become fashionable that marriage contracts cannot exist without the Order of St. Stanislaus; if this fad does not subside, children won't be able to go to school unless they have the Maltese Order."

25 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 259.

Lower-Ranked Officials: Regents, Secretaries of the Seal, and Metrykants

As was mentioned, in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, the chancellery was more specialized and bureaucratic than in earlier years. The body of staff expanded, and the new positions of regent, deputy regent, secretary of the seal, and *metrykant* were created, initially not requiring an oath until the beginning of the eighteenth century, from which date this staff did have to be sworn in.

In the period being discussed, the rarely mentioned chancellery regent's position was established in the chancellery towards the end of the sixteenth century. From the beginning of the 1630s, both the major and minor chancelleries had their own regents. During the chancellorship of K. Z. Pac, the position of deputy regent was also created, which functioned into the chancellorship of M. A. Ogiński as well. It became obsolete at the end of the seventeenth century, when it is likely that the *metrykants* took over these functions. As they were dependent on the chancellors, the regents were the most important managers in the chancellery, much like secretaries to the chancellor and the vice-chancellor. Many also served as the king's secretaries. Regents supervised the work done by the staff, allocated tasks to the notaries, and carried documents to the king or sealbearer for signing. All the written documentation of the chancellery would pass through their hands. They had to ensure that there would not be any double appointments to one office or double allotments of land. In addition, regents were also responsible for the Lithuanian Metrica, as indicated by the major chancellery's regent Samuel Kazimierz Szwejkowski in a letter dated to 1707.[26] The significance of regents is confirmed by their convening at assessors' courts and open meetings of the senate council. They often managed the seal, thus this position could have been combined with the secretary of the seal's position so that the whole chancellery's activities could be controlled by one reliable sealbearer.[27]

The immense professional responsibility afforded to this office determined that after the great notaries, one of the largest salaries were paid to regents. They would receive fees for the issue of document copies from the books of the Lithuanian Metrica and their registration. However, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the scale of document registration

26 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 177.
27 Ibid., 261–263.

dropped sharply due to the unfavorable political circumstances. In addition, not all document recipients were inclined to have their documents registered in the Metrica books, as this incurred a sizeable fee. Only friends of the sealbearers could receive the documents they required free of charge, however, this would imply reimbursement via other intangible means. As a result of this avoidance of paying fees, the acts being issued were simply not entered into the Lithuanian Metrica, this developing into a wide-scale phenomenon. It is no wonder that a comical seventeenth-century poem joked that paper was expensive when bought from a paper workshop, it became even more expensive at a library, however, the most expensive paper was the kind produced in the chancellery. We could presume that, much like in Poland, matters improved in the late seventeenth century. And probably only in the times of Stanisław August Poniatowski[28] did the majority of documents issued and received by the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania start being registered.

Regents could rise up the career ladder and become senators. Gosiewski became the palatine of Smolensk, while Jurgis Bialozaras and Aleksander Kotowicz became bishops of Vilnius. The regent's position was coveted by much of the nobility for the high salaries it attracted and the opportunity to make a career. Only nobles could become regents and *metrykants*. In 1684 there were fourteen people who applied for these positions. In 1668, the Vilnius burgher and Orthodox believer Jan Safronowicz (†1681), who was most probably elevated to the nobility, paid chancellor Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł 600 złoty for his regent's position. As the case of Safronowicz illustrates, note every burgher could become a regent. He also acted as the king's secretary, he was a merchant, collected customs duties, alcohol and other taxes, and earned rent from land holdings. The Vilnius dweller's business partners were the Lithuanian treasury notaries Jurgis Laurynas Žemla or his main sponsor—the Vilnius palatine and great hetman, Mikołaj Kazimierz Pac. Safronowicz managed to amass an impressive amount of wealth, the sums of his business transactions reached into the hundreds of thousands of złoty, and after his death a total of 51,000 złoty in coins alone was discovered.[29] In addition, once he received the office of regent, it is not even clear if he indeed served in this role or whether he resigned

28 W. Krawczuk, *Metrykanci koronni. Rozwoj registratury centralnej od XVI do XVIII wieku* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawn. Historia Jagellonica, 2002), 84.

29 Among the things listed on Safronowicz's posthumous property inventory was the Vilnius resident's wealth and an amber cross he owned. See Ragauskas, *Vilniaus miesto*,

quite soon, or perhaps he was dismissed, as by 1670 the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter canon Simon Wojciech Młynecki, who previously held this post, was again identified as regent. This was not the only case where a regent's position was bought. In 1678, Aleksander Galiński became the regent of the minor chancellery, having given the chancellor 250 red złoty.[30]

However, a majority became regents not by buying their position, but by rising up as reliable, long-serving servants of the sealbearers. For example, the Radziwiłłs had minor chancellery regents such as Andrzej Rzeczkowski (he requested this position of K. S. Radziwiłł in 1715), Józef Mogilnicki (1745–1752), and the Ashmyany district master of the stable, Franciszek Rokicki (1758–1759). The first regent began his career in the service of the chancellor's wife Anna Radziwiłł. He advanced with the assistance of these magnates: In 1729 he became the sword-bearer, in 1737—a Przemyśl castle court judge, in 1745—a regent at the minor chancellery, and in 1764—a Crown field quartermaster.[31] Some of the most important requirements for those wanting to become regents was to have a good education, proficiency in languages, legal awareness, and familiarity with the chancellery's activities. Therefore, some regents were not only excellent specialists but also prominent figures in their day who left their mark on the culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

> Johannes Hylzen (1702–1767), originally from Livonia, became a regent at the major chancellery in 1738. He was within the circle of Chancellor Jan Fryderyk Sapieha. Like the chancellor, Hylzen was highly educated, took an interest in history and was known as an excellent orator. His marriage to Konstancija Plater and career—he became the castellan of Livonia and the palatine of Minsk—elevated him onto the list of wealthiest people in the duchy. As used to be said in Livonia: "as wealthy as Hylzen, as educated as Plater". In 1750 Hylzen published a work in Vilnius on the history of Livonia.[32]

163, 409; also, Lithuanian State History Archives, col. SA, file 5334, p. 754–756; file 5097, 481–482v.

30 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 178; Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 261.

31 R. Urbaitytė, "Radvilų korespondentai XVIII amžiaus pirmojoje pusėje," *Knygotyra* 53 (2009): 44, 48–49.

32 J. A. Hylzen, *Inflanty w dawnych swych i wielorakich aż do wieku naszego dziejach i rewolucjach, z wywodem godności i starożytności Szlachty tamecznej . . .* (Wilno, 1750); *Juozapo Jurgio Hilzeno 1752–1754 metų kelionės dienoraštis*, ed. A. Pacevičius (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2013).

As was mentioned, regents were sometimes secretaries of the seal, though not always. The major and minor chancelleries had separate secretaries of the seal who followed regents in the staff hierarchy. For example, before 1728, the secretary of the minor seal was Antoni Kosowski.[33] At the chancellor's instruction, secretaries of the seal had to impress the seal onto a document and register the act into special Lithuanian Metrica sigillate books. These were kept in the chancellery from the middle of the seventeenth century. Sigillate books were registers of the synopses of all the acts issued and stamped at the chancellery. Unlike the Polish sigillate books, the Lithuanian versions were written in Polish and less commonly, in Latin. Entries were only made in French in 1746–1751, probably due to the ruler's journeys to Saxony. From the eighteenth century, secretaries of the seal were already permanent officials. The first to be mentioned as having the title of secretary of the majestic seal was Kazimierz Złotkowski in 1707. The Lida master of the hunt, Jerzy Białopiotrowicz, who held an important position in the chancellery of the Vice-Chancellor J. L. Chreptowicz was among the last to hold the post of secretary of the minor seal, until 1784. With the vice-chancellor's approval, he assembled the royalists' camp in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, sent out the vice-chancellor's letters, and obstructed their opponents' actions.[34] The sigillate book bears a note that in the period 1735–1751, entries were made by the secretary of the majestic seal at the time, the Valkavysk cupbearer Feliks Stanisław Owsiany.

Around twelve sigillate books have survived, one of which is an original. The earliest known books date to 1645–1648 and 1650–1653 and were handled by the leader of the minor chancellery, the Vice-Chancellor Kazimierz Lew Sapieha. Perhaps similar kinds of books existed earlier as well. Their tradition dates back further than their analogies in Poland. The crown sigillate books started being kept from 1685.[35] The only sigillate book to have been published was kept from October, 1709 to March, 1719, whose content matches that in Book 155 of the Lithuanian Metrica.[36]

An office similarly ranked in hierarchy to the secretary of the seal, or slightly lower, who would also have to swear an oath was the chancellery *metrykant*. This position appeared based on the example of the Polish

33 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 179.

34 Tracki, *Ostatni kanclerz*, p. 40.

35 A. Rachuba, "Księgi Sigillat Metryki Litewskiej," *Przegląd Historyczny* 1 (1972): 95–110.

36 *Metryka Litewska. Księga Sigillat 1709–1719*, ed. A. Rachuba (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987).

chancellery where it formed in conjunction with the chancellery regent's position reaching back to the first half of the sixteenth century, when the predecessor of the *metrykant*—a sworn notary—was entrusted with the Polish (Crown) Metrica books.[37] *Metrykants* have been mentioned in the Lithuanian chancellery from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among the first to hold this position was the minor chancellery *metrykant*, Władysław Kirdiej, in 1636, who went on to become this chancellery's regent. There was also a *metrykant* in the major chancellery. During a certain period in the eighteenth century, there was only one such official. *Metrykants*, like secretaries, would participate in sejms, edit the laws, and take part in the work at the decree notary's chancellery. However, their main function was to enter documents into the books of the Lithuanian Metrica, issue signed extracts, and manage the archive.[38]

Metrykants would also conduct audits of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica. The last Ruthenian Crown notary and *metrykant* of the Polish (Crown) Metrica, Kazimierz Hańkewicz, tried to assess the damage arising from the loss of the Metrica books in the seventeenth century, and described the books returned as part of the Treaty of Oliva. However, it was not possible to ascertain the exact scale of the damage, despite this being deemed mandatory in the constitutions of the 1667 and 1673 sejms.[39]

We can learn how the books of the Lithuanian Metrica were managed by looking at an example of the work of one of the famous eighteenth-century *metrykants*, Grzegorz Kaczanowski. The *metrykant* who hailed from an ordinary noble family in the Valkavysk district began his career under the protection of the notary, Bishop Adam Naruszewicz. In 1787 he became the *metrykant*, paying 1,500 złoty for this position to the previous holder, F. Schubert (some of the sum was covered by the treasury). One of his immediate tasks was the inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica books that had been transferred from Vilnius to Warsaw in 1747–1751, compiling a register in 1787. Kaczanowski was paid 1,620 złoty for binding the Metrica books, plus a salary of 3,000 złoty for his work.[40]

37 Chorążyczewski, "Kancelarie centralne," 157.

38 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 264; Urbaitytė, "Radvilų korespondentai," 48.

39 Galenchanka, *Metryka*, 10.

40 A. Dziarnovich (as O. Dziarnovich), "Inventar' "Knig Metriki VKL po-novomu perepletennyi i sostavlennyi" Grigoriem Kachanovskim (1787 g.): istochnik po istorii gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo," in *Lietuvos Statutas ir Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės bajoriškoji visuomenė. Straipsnių rinkinys*, ed.

As was the case with other chancellery officials, the *metrykants*' work was associated with the sealbearers. Before 1712, the *metrykant* at the minor chancellery headed by Kazimierz Czartoryski was Jerzy Józef Roykiewicz. Later on, he transferred to the major chancellery of Lithuania. It was around this time that the *metrykant* handled the jurisdiction of Chancellor K. S. Radziwiłł in Warsaw. However, the chancellor was unhappy with the *metrykant*'s work and suspended him from this position for a while. Before 1728, Roykiewicz was employed in the Lithuanian postal service before becoming a *metrykant* again in 1728. In December 1746, he resigned from this position in favor of the king's secretary Józef Mikłaszewicz due to serious illness.

Even though it was only nobles who could become *metrykants*, based on the Polish example (*metrykant* Andrzej Cichocki hailed from the class of Warsaw burghers), the Lithuanian chancellery could have also had officials coming from the burgher estate. Good performance at work created the conditions for them to receive noble status and rise up the career ladder. One of the most important prerequisites was a suitable education. However, some *metrykants* learned their profession whilst already working. Knowing Ruthenian was considered especially important, as it was required when rewriting books in Latin lettering. In 1714, Roykiewicz hired a person who knew Ruthenian and by 1715 he already had a grasp of this language ("*po rusku*"). He later went on to learn Russian (and translated the tsar's letters). For their work in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, *metrykants* were meant to receive a salary comparable to that received by Polish *metrykants*, for example, the annual salary of the Polish *metrykant* Cichocki was 400 złoty, not counting his earnings for the issue of Metrica extracts (one red złoty per page).[41]

The technical staff was the very lowest segment working in the chancelleries: These were ordinary clerks and scribes. They carried out the technical functions of the institution. From the middle of the seventeenth century, the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began to "choke" from the workload and there was a constant shortage of ordinary clerks. Even though they carried out a significant part of the work, the least amount of information has survived about them in particular.

I. Valikonytė ir L. Steponavičienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2015), 261–276. See chapter 8 for more.

41 Urbaitytė, "Radvilų korespondentai," 45–46, 50.

Chapter 6

Structure, Handling, and Control Issues Regarding the Lithuanian Metrica

The history of the emergence and handling of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica is best revealed when studying the activities of the chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as the chancellery of the vice-chancellor was only established in 1566 and still is a relatively unresearched institution (the Metrica books attributed to it started being kept only in 1615). The books that originated from the chancellor's office constituted the main part of the Lithuanian Metrica—the first historic structural unit we know of comes from this particular group.

Ptaszycki was the first to recognize the issues of the structure and division of the Lithuanian Metrica into separate groups of books in the introduction to his *Inventory* published in 1887. At the time, he relied on the existing division of the Lithuanian Metrica, but, for example, he did touch on the so-called books of court records, distinguishing as many as twelve types.[1] Later, Berezhkov presented the most comprehensive study of the problem of the Lithuanian Metrica's structure to date. His attention turned to the earliest period (the late fifteenth–late sixteenth centuries), even though the first part of his most important resource research work, The Lithuanian Metrica as a History Source, is chronologically narrower and

1 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 28–35.

only covers the period up to 1522.[2] The main hypothesis and conclusion from Berezhkov's research was that the books of the Lithuanian Metrica that were rewritten in the late sixteenth century were not identical to the old, initial books. He tried to reconstruct the initial structure of the books from the late fifteenth century until 1520 and revealed around forty-two book groups: 1a) general books of grants (donations) and court decrees; 1b) separate books of grants (donations); 2) separate judicial books; 3) leasehold books (containing leasehold deeds); 4) books containing information about provisions for the ruler's subjects and expenses for rewarding Tatars; 5) diplomatic legation and treaty books; 6) separate documents not attributed to any one of the mentioned groups; 7) documents not included in the initial structure of the Lithuanian Metrica that emerged when the books were being rewritten at the end of the sixteenth century.[3]

Banionis continued with Berezhkov's research 150 years later.[4] He was probably the only scientist in the late Soviet period to have taken a deeper interest in the issues of the Lithuanian Metrica in the Soviet Union. Banionis unwaveringly agreed with Berezhkov's hypothesis that the copied books were not identical to the old books (the books of the Lithuanian Metrica rewritten in the late sixteenth century were lost in the mid-seventeenth century). Having analyzed how the term "book" functioned in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, he went further, stating that "there was no large-scale dismantlement of any bound books during the entire sixteenth century, as Berezhkov imagined, as the books themselves did not exist".[5]

In 1984 in the United States, a place in no way related to the Lithuanian Metrica, an innovative study of the Lithuanian Metrica by the American scientist P. Kennedy Grimsted was published.[6] In terms of its form, it was a "cloaked" facsimile of Ptaszycki's *Inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica* from

2 Berezhkov, *Litovskaia Metrika*.

3 Ibid., 140–151.

4 Aside from the extended introduction to Book 5 of the Lithuanian Metrica, the following two most important of his articles on the Lithuanian Metrica should be mentioned: E. Banionis, "Lietuvos Metrikos knygos," 135–148; E. Banionis, "K voprosu o genezise knig Litovskoi Metriki (posledniaia chetvert' XV v.)," in *Lietuvos Metrika: 1988 metų tyrinėjimai*, ed. E. Banionis, Z. Kiaupa, 8–45.

5 *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5. Užrašymų knyga 5*, ed. E. Banionis (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1993), 20: "Никакого распада переплетенных больших по объему книг на протяжении всего XVI в. не происходило, как это представлял Н. Бережков, ибо самих этих книг не было."

6 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica."*

1887, yet it was accompanied by a very thorough Introduction,[7] various additional correlations between other Lithuanian Metrica books and older lists of its summaries.[8]

> It is simply enviable how, under the conditions of great political tension between the free Western world and the closed Soviet system, when Lithuanian historians could not even easily access Moscow's archives and reaching Warsaw's archives without the proper supervision of security structures was almost a mission impossible, a person from the "enemy camp" not only managed to attain permission to arrive in the formally independent People's Republic of Poland and the very center of the "empire of evil," Moscow, but to also be allowed to enter Moscow's and Warsaw's archives for a longer period, which at the time belonged to a rather closed category of institutions, in terms of foreigner access.

In one way or another, looking at the matter from the perspective of passed time, we should admit that Kennedy Grimsted's rerelease of Ptaszycki's *Inventory* opened up a new page in the history of Lithuanian Metrica research and is even today an unsurpassed digest of archival and older bibliographic knowledge about the Metrica. Its appearance only confirmed the known truth that if a country's own history issues are not studied, this vacant niche is soon noticed and occupied by researchers from other countries.

In her comprehensive introduction called "Problems Regarding the Organization, Contents, and Arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica", Kennedy Grimsted reviewed the evolution of the term Lithuanian Metrica, the main historical characteristics of the Metrica, and presented a thorough analysis of the complicated question of the structure and classification of the complex of books that make up the Lithuanian Metrica. Half of the introduction is essentially dedicated to her own reasoning for the so-called ideal inventory, that is, what should the new scientific description of the regrouped books of the Lithuanian Metrica be like, not based on

7 In effect, this is a repeated and supplemented version of an earlier article (see P. Kennedy-Grimsted, "What is and what was the Lithuanian Metrica? The contents, history, and organization of the chancery archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 3 (1982): 269–338).

8 Grimsted was assisted in her studies of much of the material of the Lithuanian Metrica, which is kept in Polish archives, by the famous Polish archive researcher mentioned in the title, Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, who incidentally spent her childhood and youth in Vilnius.

whether the books belong to one or another current archival collection, but by applying the principles of formal chancellery provenance and book handling (chartulary) criteria. Even though she did insightfully notice the authentic division of the Lithuanian Metrica books into the grand and vice-chancellors' groups,[9] Kennedy Grimsted did not expand on her idea and stayed with the nineteenth-century classification of the Lithuanian Metrica complex based on thematic (content) characteristics, nonetheless, she did narrow them down to six independent sections: 1) Books of Inscriptions; 2) Books of Public Affairs; 3) Sigillata Lists; 4) Judicial Books; 5) Land Survey Books and 6) Legation Books.

The primary obstacle all researchers are confronted with when trying to classify the books of the Lithuanian Metrica according to the thematic (content) principle is that they are very jumbled, which does not allow clarifying separate groups as exceptions and conditions must always be applied. This is an objective characteristic of the Lithuanian Metrica books, which can be termed a flaw in the work of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, indicative of its lag behind other states in this field.

Having said that, the question naturally arises: What was the original grouping of the books?

The main and largest group of Metrica books is without a doubt the chancellors' books, which must have emerged together with the rising prominence of the chancellors' office. The first individual titled as chancellor is known to date from the end of Vytautas's reign. He was the Pole Mikołaj Małdrzyk, mentioned in 1429. Permanent chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were noted from the beginning of the reign of Casimir Jagiellon. These figures were usually only members of the most influential Lithuanian magnate families. From 1441 until the dissolution of the Commonwealth in 1795, a total of twenty-two people served as chancellors. A list of their names with an accurate chronology of the offices they held is given in the digest of officials of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[10] An inventory of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica compiled by the last *metrykant* Kaczanowski in 1787, just before the Commonwealth's dissolution, mentioned 444 books from the chancellors' office (not including twenty-nine volumes of books transcribed into Latin script from Cyrillic, which make

9 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 38: "An ideal inventory should probably list chancery and vice-chancery books in separate books, at least for the Books of Inscriptions."

10 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, 51–53.

up Book 445), while there were only 118 vice-chancellors' books (besides the copies of four volumes from other archives, which make up Book 119). What are the reasons for this fact?

The Vice-Chancellors' Books

The office of the vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was established in 1565–1566 at the Vilnius Sejm, 125 years after the chancellor's office was created. This was undoubtedly done in line with the practice valid in Poland (the office of the vice-chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland was established in the hierarchy of offices already in the late fourteenth century). In the period 1565–1795, a total of twenty-three people served as vice-chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,[11] thus, they outnumbered the chancellors over a significantly longer period (1441–1795). This can be explained by the fact that the vice-chancellor's office was a kind of "trampoline" on the way to the higher-ranked chancellor's office, which is why turnover rates among vice-chancellors were quite high. This circumstance had a great influence on the formation of the Lithuanian Metrica group of vice-chancellor's books.

The books of the Lithuanian Metrica were created as separate chartulary "files" curated by individual chancellery notaries. Some of these notaries made very successful careers and ultimately became the heads of the chancellery themselves. One such notary was the first vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Eustachy Wołłowicz (died in 1578), also, Lew Sapieha (1557–1633). Many of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica we know of in their current condition were created during their periods working at the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Thus it is not surprising that in that era of unregulated chartulary, these chancellors considered the fruit of their labor—the books—almost as their own personal property, they did not rush to part with them, and upon receiving higher-ranked offices, they would keep them as necessary for ongoing work in their new posts.

The earliest books from the vice-chancellors' group of Metrica books dates to the period when Gabriel Wojna served as notary and vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Evidence of this lies in the fact that in an archival sense, the independent group of vice-chancellors'

11 Ibid., 146–149.

books only started to form from 1615, even though the institution of the vice-chancellor emerged in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1566. What grounds are there for identifying 1615 in particular? Simply put, Wojna, the vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, died on January 1, 1615. He had held this office for a quarter of a century (1589–1614). His death stopped him from taking the office of chancellor, which he would most likely have received according to the prevailing principle of hierarchical succession (in 1579–1684, all chancellors had first been vice-chancellors). Thus, Wojna's premature death interrupted the tradition that was developing, where, upon becoming chancellor, the vice-chancellor would transfer the vice-chancellor's chancellery's material to the chancellor's premises, thereby artificially putting a halt to the formation of the initial archival collection. When Wojna died, there was no practical necessity to transfer the new books of the Lithuanian Metrica that had been created during the vice-chancellor's time in office, and they acquired an independent status. This independent status of the Lithuanian Metrica books of the vice-chancellor was further entrenched by deviations in the careers of two other vice-chancellors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Wojna's successor, Eustachy Wołłowicz and his successor, Hieronym Wołłowicz, spent barely three years and one year respectively in the vice-chancellor's office, before changing their positions (the chancellor during this entire period remained Lew Sapieha). So, once again, there was no practical necessity to transfer the new books that had been created under their supervision as vice-chancellors into the chancellor's chancellery. Together with the books of Vice-Chancellor Wojna, they formed the beginnings of the independent group of vice-chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica. There is even direct evidence to confirm this fact. Folio 43v of Book 95 of the Lithuanian Metrica contains the following handwritten comment made by Lithuanian Vice-Chancellor Hieronym Wołłowicz:

> *Roku 1618 augusta 25 dnia podałem* [*te?*—illegible—D. A.] *księgi panu Janowi Korsakowi sekretarzowi KJM z Metriką godnego pamięci wielmożnego jm. pana Gabriela Wojny podkanclerzego WKL i jm. ks. Eustachiego Wołłowicza teraźniejszego biskupa wileńskiego za podkanclerstwa jm. w Warszawie*. [On August 25, 1618 in Warsaw, I transferred these (?) books to the secretary of His Royal Grace, Jan Korsak, together with the Metrica [i.e., books] of the all-powerful lord, his grace, the Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of

Lithuania Gabriel Wojna, and his grace, the priest Eustachy Wołłowicz, the current Vilnius bishop and former vice-chancellor.]

From these words we can gather that on August 25, 1618, Hieronym Wołłowicz transferred the whole collection of vice-chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica, consisting of his own books and those of his predecessors, Gabriel Wojna and Eustachy Wołłowicz, to the secretary of Sigismund III Vasa, Jan Korsak.

The divide between the Lithuanian Metrica books of grand and vice-chancellors was, apparently, so distinct that in 1623 the new chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł (1593–1656), the previous vice-chancellor, could no longer continue with the tradition of Sapieha or Wołłowicz and did not take over the vice-chancellors' material, whereby a separate group of Metrica books eventually started to form on the basis of the vice-chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books. This chronological sequence is also confirmed in the history of the houses of certain Vilnius burghers in whose homes the Lithuanian Metrica books would be kept when the ruler arrived in the capital Vilnius, as well as the first mention of regents (*metrykants*) of the vice-chancellors' books in sources. Regents (*metrykants*) of the vice-chancellors' chancellery begin to be mentioned from 1631,[12] while on December 13, 1636 Władysław IV Vasa issued a privilege according to which the vice-chancellor's Lithuanian Metrica books could be kept in the brick house of the Vilnius burgher, Grzegorz Kołzanowski.[13]

The only fact that could disprove this situation is the period of the career of Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Thunder (1547–1603), when he served as the vice-chancellor (from the end of 1579 until the beginning of 1585). If the formation of the independent group of vice-chancellors' books in the 1610s was determined by such an incidental thing as the long tenure of Lew Sapieha as Lithuanian chancellor and the death of Vice-Chancellor Gabriel Wojna, due to which a nomination to the office of chancellor obviously became impossible, then why were the vice-chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books not separated from the chancellors' books already in 1585, when Radziwiłł the Thunder left the office of vice-chancellor? After all, a situation very similar to the one that unfolded in 1615–1618 had also

12 *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze*, no. 1411, 1412.

13 Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic," 300–301.

developed then. This can be explained by the fact that Radziwiłł the Thunder was not an active vice-chancellor, as even up until then he had never really been associated with the chancellery's activities. At present, there is no knowledge of any book of the Lithuanian Metrica where the title would state that it had been compiled during the service in office of Radziwiłł the Thunder as vice-chancellor. During this period, he had been engaged in a number of other causes—at first, in military affairs (the campaigns of Stephan Bathory against Ivan IV in 1580–1581)—and later, his involvement in political affairs; the handling of material sent from the minor chancellery became the notaries' responsibility. One such notary was the aforementioned Lew Sapieha, who in 1585 also became Radziwiłł the Thunder's successor as vice-chancellor. Most likely all the material from the minor chancellery created in 1580–1584 ended up in the hands of Sapieha, who soon became chancellor himself in 1589, and transferred it to the major chancellery.

What was the initial structure of the group of vice-chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica? This is revealed when these books were checked in 1618–1619, which shall be discussed in greater detail below. Based on the auditors' comments entered into the books themselves, it may be said that in 1618–1619, the collection of vice-chancellors' books consisted of only seventeen volumes. They are books 72, 76, 80, 86, 92, 94, 95, 267, 278, 282, 285, 290, 291, 294, 295, 298, and 299 in today's State Russian Archive of Early Acts col. 389. Another review of the vice-chancellors' books conducted twenty-three years later, on October 14–15, 1641, which shall also be discussed in greater detail later on, reveals that at that time, the collection of vice-chancellors' books had doubled in size, to thirty-four volumes. Aside from those already listed, except for Book 267, these were Lithuanian Metrica books 96, 100–102, 104, 109, 110, 112, 300, 304, 305, 307–309, 313–315, and 318.

An overview of the further development of the vice-chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica can be made only a whole century later, when the Lithuanian Metrica had already been transferred to Warsaw. On May 4, 1747, a new inventory of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica was compiled; unfortunately, the only copy was destroyed in fire during the Warsaw uprising against the Nazis in 1944. All that can be gathered from its descriptions in historiography is that the vice-chancellors' books were numbered using letters instead of numbers, to distinguish them from the chancellors' books,

that is, A, B, C, and so forth, as far as UUUU.[14] This means that in the middle of 1747, the collection of vice-chancellors' books consisted of ninety-six volumes. Aside from those already mentioned, they were Lithuanian Metrica books 65, 73, 74, 95, 117–119, 124, 125, 128, 135, 137, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 150–154, 156–159, 161, 163–167, 170, 306, 323–325, 327, 328, 330, 331, 340, 343, 345, 356, 359, 367, 389, 392–394, 502, 506, 508, 511, 517–520, 522, 533, 569, 584, 585, and 599.

This list suggests that the collection of vice-chancellors' books had been altered somewhat in Warsaw. First of all, today's Book 65 was attributed to this collection, which was not mentioned in the 1618 (1619)–1641 period,[15] while in terms of its chronology, being one of the earliest books in the vice-chancellors' group, Book 72 was for some reason moved into the chancellors' group of books. Instead, Book 73 was taken from there and added to the vice-chancellors' book group.[16] Today's Book 74 was also added to the group of vice-chancellors' books. The attribution of another four books was also altered: Instead of books 308 and 315 which were moved to the chancellery, books 95 and 306 were taken from there into the vice-chancellors' group.

Kennedy Grimsted stated that the Lithuanian Metrica had been divided into the books of the major and minor chancelleries, that is, the chancellors' and vice-chancellors' books, only in the middle of the eighteenth century,[17]

14 S. Ptaszycki, "Sumariusz i inwentarze Metryki Litewskiej," *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 8 (1930): 39–40.

15 Book 65 is one of the first Lithuanian Metrica books from the period of Stephen Bathory's reign that has survived as as original and was not rewritten at the end of the sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries. It was not checked by either Puzelewski or appeared in the summaries of 1623, nor was it checked by the auditors of the vice-chancellors' books. This suggests that it had been kept in private hands for a long time, before being returned to the chancellery at an undetermined time after 1641.

16 It is relatively easy to explain the appearance of Book 73 among the vice-chancellors' books in the inventory of 1747. This book had been compiled when Lew Sapieha held the office of the Lithuanian vice-chancellor (as evident from the book's original title). Having become chancellor in 1589, Sapieha transferred it among the chancellors' books. The compilers of the 1747 inventory must have carried out some kind of work to put the Lithuanian Metrica books in order and placed this book back among the vice-chancellors' books.

17 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 14–15: "All of the volumes were then completely reorganized and numbered with strict divisions between the books of the main chancery (*Metrica maior*) and the minor chancery (*Metrica minor*)."

however the facts mentioned above confirm that this occurred 130 years earlier, and not as the result of some mechanical reasoning, but as a natural course of development of the Lithuanian Metrica. This fact concerning the inner structure of the Lithuanian Metrica had not yet been disclosed in literature. Even though researchers did know about the existence of the so-called Main and Minor Metrica in the early seventeenth century, the link between them, especially the association between the books kept in each section, was completely unclear, with numerous contradicting claims emerging from subsequent research.[18]

This authentic arrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica into chancellors' and vice-chancellors' books remained in place until the dissolution of the Commonwealth in 1794. This is confirmed in the inventory of the books compiled in 1787 by its last *metrykant*, Kaczanowski. As was mentioned, he registered 445 chancellors' books and 119 vice-chancellors' books.

Control Procedures of the Lithuanian Metrica and Book Descriptions from the Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries

Thus far, little is known about the handling and control of the Lithuanian Metrica during its early period of existence (from the second half of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth centuries). The first undeniable fact is the register of some of the documents kept in the archive of the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The inventory of these documents currently makes up books 1 and 2 of the present Lithuanian Metrica, of which the second is considered a later copy of the first book.[19] The documents themselves would have been kept in the Vilnius Lower Castle, in the land treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (i.e., in the country's central treasury), where documents would have to be submitted by each new chancellor taking over his predecessor's duties and chancellery material, while a register was prepared for the chancellery's daily needs, encompassing 700 record entries (the number of actual documents is even greater). It is still impossible to assert exactly

18 Rachuba, "Kancelarie pieczętarzy," 264, footnote 20: "Przekazujący przecież w 1623 r. kanclerzowi Albrychtowi Stanisławowi Radziwiłłowi Metrykę Lew Sapiega w sporządzonym spisie zamieścił tak księgi z kancelarii wielkiej jak ị mniejszej—Metryka byłaby więc wspolna i zarządzana przez kanclerza" [When transferring the Metrica to Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł in 1623, Lew Sapieha included the books of both the main and minor chancelleries into the list, meaning that there must have been one, general Metrica, administrated by the chancellor].

19 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 1*, 7.

when this was done, due to a lack of data, but this could have been in around the second half of the sixteenth century, perhaps during the period when Eustachy Wołłowicz was in office as chancellor. The document chronology suggests that a majority found their way into the rulers' archive during the extended reign of Sigismund the Old, in 1506–1548. Obviously, a significant part consisted of various documents certifying the legitimate ownership of domains that became the ruler's property together with other escheated property of former owners. The clearest example is the sheer number of documents about the property of the Goštautas family in this inventory. However, there is no knowledge whatsoever about the further destiny of these documents.[20]

At the very end of the sixteenth century, at the instructions of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the time, Lew Sapieha, all the chancellors' books he had under his jurisdiction were rewritten into new books, while the old (original) books were transferred to the state treasury in the Vilnius Lower Castle (figs. 9, 10). No list of the rewritten "new" Lithuanian Metrica books from this time, if one was ever made, has survived, and we only know of this fact from the title pages in the books themselves. Without naming his information source, Ptaszycki claimed that the old (original) books started being rewritten in 1594.[21] Other researchers who uncritically acknowledged this date and associated it with the resolution passed at the sejm of 1607, which shall be discussed later on, even today mistakenly assert that the process of rewriting the books took from 1594 until 1607; this however, is a misunderstanding. The exact number of rewritten books has not been determined to this day, but it could have been around 150 volumes.

The question of whether the new and old books were identical immediately aroused suspicions among the nobility as to whether any violations had been made during the rewriting process, which could have an impact on the legitimacy of the property at their disposal. Demands to check the new books must have spread from rather broad layers of the nobility, as the 1607 Commonwealth Sejm passed a separate resolution on this matter; the most important part is cited below:

> Iż metryki, abo księgi kancelaryjej naszej, dla starości, przez ktorą pisma i papier absumuje się, i dla inszych ważnych przyczyn i przygod rozmaitych za ustnym pozwoleniem naszym przepisane są, dla konkordowania tedy i korrygowania nowo przepisanych z staremi, które w skarbie naszym

20 Jakubowski, "Archiwum państwowe," 1–18.

21 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 8.

wileńskim są złożone, deputujemy zarazem z tego Sejmu panów senatorów. A stany W. Ks. Litewskiego mają teraz na relacyjach mianować z każdego powiatu jednego deputata, którzy zjachawszy się nazajutrz po św. Marcinie *anni praesentis* do Wilna *absentia unius vel plurium* non *obstante*, ci, którzy się stawią, mają księgi Metryki wszystkiej nowo przepisanej z staremi przez wielmożnego Leona Sapiehę kanclerza W. Ks. Litewskiego abo sekretarza naszego, którego on sam deputuje, ekshibowane skorygować i rękami swemi podpisać, aby stare w skarbie naszym, a nowo przepisane przy kanclerzach dla potrzeby ludzkiej chowane były. Tamże zaraz i privilegia wszystkie W. Ks. Litewskiego, które w skarbie są, przez też deputaty mają bydź rewidowane.

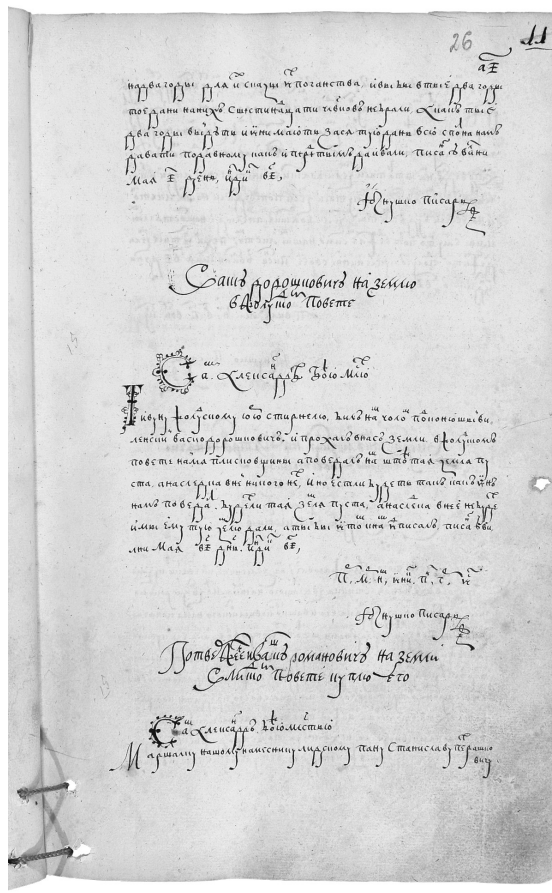

Figure 9. *A page from the rewritten Book 5 of the Lithuanian Metrica* (Российский государственный архив древних актов, ф. № 389, опись 1, единица хранения № 5).

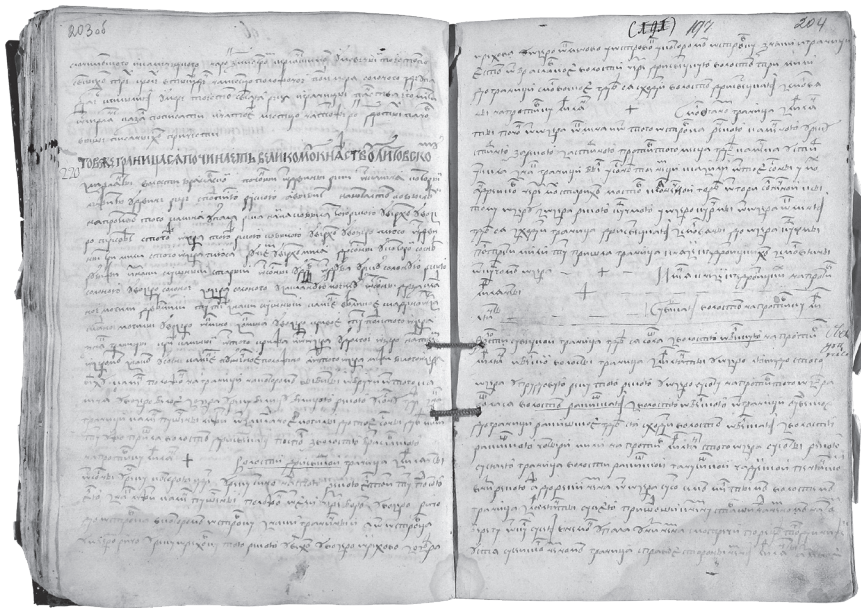

Figure 10. *Pages of the original Book 223 of the Lithuanian Metrica—1510–1534. Court Records Book 3* (Российский государственный архив древних актов, ф. № 389, опись 1, единица хранения № 223).

> [The books of the Metrica, or our chancellery books, were rewritten in accordance with our [i.e., Sigismund III] verbal agreement due to their age, the disintegration of the writing and paper, and due to other important reasons and various occurrences, which is why we immediately delegate the senators of this sejm to check them and amend the new rewritten books in accordance with the old [books], which are stored in our treasury in Vilnius. The estates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania must, during their next sejmik, appoint a representative from each district (*powiat*), who, on the day after St. Martin's of this year [i.e., on November 12, 1607] in Vilnius, if the nonparticipation of one or more who have not arrived does not interfere, must correct all the newly rewritten Metrica books based on the old ones, which must be given to them by the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Lew Sapieha, or his appointed secretary, and confirm this with their signatures, so that all the old books might be kept in our treasury, while the newly rewritten ones might be kept with our chancellors for the needs of the public. At the same time, the mentioned representatives must check all the privileges of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that are kept in the treasury.]

It is one thing to devise this kind of task, while quite another to actually carry it out. Adam Paszkiewicz, the appointed representative of Chancellor Sapieha who arrived in Vilnius on November 12, 1607, made the following announcement to the Vilnius district castle court. At first he recited the contents of the 1607 sejm resolution, and then stated:[22]

> His grace, the chancellor, my lord, who is currently engaged in other urgent and important Commonwealth affairs, could not arrive in person in Vilnius, but sent me here for this purpose with the newly rewritten books, which are kept with his grace, the seal-holder, having given me the keys [to access] the old books and privileges that are kept in the treasury of his grace the ruler in the Vilnius castle, so that I might give them [the books] to be corrected to their graces, the representatives, who have arrived for this purpose in Vilnius. I have the letter of his grace, my lord, [addressed] to their graces the representatives on this matter, also, to his grace the treasurer [Hieronym Wołłowicz], or in his absence—to the treasury supervisor [M. Brolnicky] and the treasury notaries. Alas, having come here, I have not found any of their graces, the representatives sent from their district sejmiks, who were meant to arrive here in Vilnius to check the books, only his grace the palatine of Navahrudak [T. Skumin-Tyszkiewicz], who his royal grace sent to carry out this task, his grace, the servant Nieciecha, upon arriving here in Vilnius announced that his grace [the Navahrudak palatine] is already on his way and shall arrive if need be. Also, having myself learned that neither his grace the treasurer, nor the treasury supervisor, nor any of the treasury notaries are currently in Vilnius, and not receiving any news as to who has the keys to the treasury, I must return with the newly rewritten books to his grace, the chancellor; I submit this announcement, on behalf of my lord's name, to be entered into the Vilnius castle books, and I ask that this be done.

From this statement made by Paszkiewicz it is evident that the checking of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica devised in 1607 simply failed, due to the nobility's laziness. There are no further references to this event in later years. Incidentally, some statements can be found in literature that the books were nevertheless checked, the procedure lasting right up to 1621, but they were made after an incorrect interpretation of the facts. This too shall be discussed later on.

22 *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoiu arkheographicheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 8: *Akty Vilenskogo gorodskogo suda* (Vilnius: Vilenskaia arkheographicheskaia komissiia, 1875), no. 203, 421–422.

The first time the Lithuanian Metrica was checked only really concerned the vice-chancellors' books. The procedure was conducted by the royal secretaries, Karol Białłozor and Jan Marcinkiewicz.

> Białłozor was a well-known figure. His biography can be found in the Polish biographical dictionary.[23] He was born in 1569 and studied at the Vilnius Academy, whilst also studying abroad. In 1622 he became the prelate-custodian of the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter, and a provost priest in 1626. Białłozor held the title of royal secretary, and appointed by the Vilnius Chapter, he participated in the Commonwealth sejms of 1624 and 1628. Just before his death, he was promised the office of referendary of church affairs in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but this was never realized (Mikołaj Tryzna was appointed as the referendary instead). Białłozor died on February 10, 1631 in Kobryn and was buried in the Vilnius Cathedral on June 13. The famous Vilnius preacher Jakub Olszewski read a sermon in honor of the deceased during his funeral.[24] Marcinkiewicz was also quite a well-known figure. He was the chancellery notary, the Upytė district pantler, and had the title of royal secretary. In 1626 he became a member of the Treasury Tribunal, and in 1632 he signed the documents for the election of Władysław Vasa as ruler of the Commonwealth.[25] Marcinkiewicz was a Protestant and was associated with the Biržai Radziwiłł line via official business-related links.[26] From the memoirs of Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, we know that Marcinkiewicz died in May, 1634.[27]

No list of revised books has survived, or at least thus far there is nothing to suggest one ever existed. The only information we have about the checking procedure comes from the entries in the books themselves: *Carolus Biallosor SRM secretarius* or *Ioannes Marcinkiewicz SRM secretarius*. When did Białłozor and Marcinkiewicz check the Lithuanian

23 W. Tomkiewicz, "Białłozor Jan Karol," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 2 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936), 8.

24 J. Olszewski, *Kazanie na pogrzebie . . . Karola Jana Białozora . . .* , [Wilno], 1631 (see: *XVII a. Lietuvos lenkiškos knygos. Kontrolinis sąrašas*, ed. M. Ivanovič, no. 453 [Vilnius: LNB BKC, 1998]).

25 *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, ed. S. Uruski, A. A. Kosiński, and A. Włodarski, vol. 10 (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1913), 213.

26 The Radziwiłł archive at the Warsaw Central Archives of Historic Records (AGAD) contains twenty letters written by Marcinkiewicz to Krzysztof Radziwiłł in 1619–1625, see: *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie,* Archiwum Radziwiłłow, dz. V, no. 9267.

27 Radziwiłł, *Memoriale*, 33–34.

Metrica vice-chancellors' books? They did not indicate any dates in their own entries. *Terminus ad quem* must have been the date of Białłozor's death—February 10, 1631. *Terminus a quo* is unclear. When signing, both titled themselves only as royal secretaries, while Białłozor was the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter prelate-custodian from 1622, so, when checking the books in 1622 and thereafter, this position would have been mentioned alongside any others he held. This means the checking procedure must have taken place earlier. This could have been from the end of 1618 to the start of 1619, when this office was passed on from Hieronym Wołłowicz to the next vice-chancellor, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł. This is also confirmed by the fact that the chronology of the books checked by Białłozor and Marcinkiewicz does not reach 1620. This date also ideally correlates with the entry in Lithuanian Metrica Book 95 made on August 25, 1618 by Wołłowicz regarding the transfer of the vice-chancellors' books to Korsak, the secretary of Sigismund III Vasa. He had to transfer the vice-chancellors' books to the chancellor, Lew Sapieha, but when Radziwiłł was appointed vice-chancellor, Białłozor and Marcinkiewicz checked the books before handing them over to him, probably upon the order of Sapieha himself, and certified this with their signatures.[28] As mentioned, a total of seventeen volumes were checked—based on the existing order of the Lithuanian Metrica, they were books 72, 76, 80, 86, 92, 94, 95, 267, 278, 282, 285, 290, 291, 294, 295, 298, and 299.[29]

As far as we know, the Lithuanian Metrica chancellors' books were first checked in 1623. It was also related to the changeover in chancellors. At the beginning of that year, the long-serving chancellor Sapieha, who had

28 For specific inscriptions left by the auditors in 1618/1619, see Antanavičius, "Revviziia knig," 169–173.

29 Uncertainties arise only over the earliest book checked by the auditors from the so-called Books of Court Records (Book 267). This book was compiled during the time when the first vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Eustachy Wołłowicz, was in office. We could guess that when Wołłowicz became the chancellor, it, like the other books he compiled whilst in office as the vice-chancellor, would have been transferred among the chancellors' books. Later, at an uncertain time, it would have still been returned to the vice-chancellors and checked by auditors in 1618/1619. It is unknown what determined that it was soon returned to the chancellors. This is evident from a summary made in 1623 where this book is mentioned as Book 72 (see Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* appendix 4, A-51, chapters 1 and 4, appendix 6, A-95, chapters 1 and 4). In 1641 the auditors did not check this book, meaning that at this time it was still among the chancellors' books. The number 116 in summaries of 1747 and 1787 testifies that at this time, it also belonged to the chancellors' books collection.

been appointed to the office of Vilnius palatine, was replaced by the Vice-Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł. With the transfer of chancellery matters to the new chancellor, an inventory of the chancellors' books was made on March 11, 1623, which has survived and has been published.[30] It lists a total of 190 books, and is worth a closer look. The books have been listed here chronologically, based on the periods of reign of separate rulers, as was commonly accepted at the time. Beginning with the books from the reigns of Casimir Jagiellon and Alexander Jagiellon (five books), then there are the books of Sigismund the Old, and so forth. Interestingly, this inventory reveals the first attempts to divide the Metrica books in accordance with an official-clerical (record of provenance) principle. For example, seven books of the nobility's appeals to the ruler's court from the Podlasie palatinate written up in Latin were placed into a separate group, as were twenty-four so-called palatinate books (*księgi wojewodzkie*), that is, the books of separate palatine courts (most of which came from the Vilnius castle court), three original books of appeals made by burghers from Magdeburgian cities to the assessors' court, and five books regarding Livonian matters from the reign of Sigismund III Vasa. Nonetheless, in the main chapters, no distinction has yet to be made between books of privileges or books of court records: everything appears chronologically. The correlation between the books mentioned on the list of March 11, 1623 and those currently in the State Russian Archive of Early Acts is presented only in specialist academic literature.[31]

The list of chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books from March 11, 1623 is also important for the fact that it allows correcting the misleading claim still being repeated in various articles that the mentioned audit of the Metrica books announced at the 1607 sejm lasted until 1621. Ptaszycki could have been the first one to indicate that upon the failure of the 1607 audit, Sigismund III Vasa appointed a new commission to perform this task. It included the royal secretary Andrzej Dolski and the instigator (state prosecutor) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Mikołaj Marchacz Puzelewski. They are said to have checked the books right up to 1621.[32] Other researchers

30 G. Galenchanka, "Reestr knig," 336–374. A translation into Belarusian was also published recently (see Galenchanka, *Metryka*).

31 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* appendix 6, A-91–108. They have also been included in tables in appendices 4 and 5 as a separate section.

32 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 10.

repeat this claim, summarizing that the audit of 1607 took fourteen years to complete. This is simply a misunderstanding, determined by an erroneous interpretation of the facts. First of all, there is unquestionable evidence that Puzelewski checked the last Lithuanian Metrica chancellors' books after January 1623, and not in 1621. This is evident from Metrica Book 301. At the end, on folio 170, under the last document entered which is dated January 26, 1623, we find his entry known to all researchers of the Lithuanian Metrica. It is at this time that Book 301 is attributed to the so-called books of court records group. The date of January, 1623 is confirmed also by the last Book 93 from the so-called Books of Inscriptions group, which was certified with Puzelewski's signature. In this book, the date of the last document on folios 557–557v is December 29, 1622. On the other hand, a majority of the books on the list from March 11, 1623 also bear Puzelewski's mark indicating they had been checked, while at the end of the list, the following is stated:

> Które takowe księgi ja Leo Sapieha wojewoda wileński książęciu jm. panu Olbrychtowi Stanisławowi Radziwiłowi kanclerzowi WKL według tego regestru przez urodzonych Mikołaja Marchacza Puzelewskiego instygatora WKL i pana Andrzeja Dolskiego sekretarza, od JKM deputowanych, zrewidowane i gzie jakie vicium w nich zdało się by ręką pana instygatorową naznaczone oddałem.[33]
>
> [I, the Vilnius palatine Lew Sapieha, transfer these listed books, which the representatives appointed by His Royal Grace, the noble GDL instigator Mikołaj Marchacz Puzelewski and secretary Andrzej Dolski, have checked and marked by the hand of the instigator in the event of any wrongdoings [i.e., defects], to the duke, his grace, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, the chancellor of the GDL].

So there is no doubt that the audit of the Lithuanian Metrica books by Puzelewski is directly related to the compilation of the list of March 11, 1623: Firstly, in 1623, probably in February or early March, Puzelewski together with the royal secretary Dolski checked the chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica upon the personal order of Sigismund III Vasa (*za własnym KJM rozkazaniem / ad mandatum SRM*),[34] leaving the appropriate

33 Galenchanka, "Reestr knig," 356.

34 Lithuanian Metrica Book 253 fo. 301v; 531, fo. 205v.

markings, while Sapieha, in transferring the books to Radziwiłł, ordered they be written up into a list.

The list compiled based on the audit of the Lithuanian Metrica books by Puzelewski and Dolski in February–March, 1623 has not survived. Their work can only be reconstructed based on their inscriptions made into the books themselves. This would be a task for future researchers. One thing is clear though—they only checked the chancellors' Metrica books left under the jurisdiction of Sapieha, as the vice-chancellors' books which were the responsibility of Radziwiłł as the vice-chancellor do not bear their signatures.

Another important fact in the history of the Lithuanian Metrica dates to the autumn of 1623: On November 26, at the Vilnius Lower Castle, Sapieha's servants transferred part of the archive of the Lithuanian rulers kept in the treasury over to the new chancellor, A. S. Radziwiłł. This part of the archive contained the so-called state (land) (i.e., the noble estate's) privileges, as well as various interstate agreements and the original books of the Lithuanian Metrica from the late fifteenth–early seventeenth centuries. The Polish title of the respective document, which is now kept in Warsaw, at the Central Archives of Historical Records,[35] is as follows:

> These privileges of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by which the dukes and subsequently their graces the kings of Poland and grand dukes of Lithuania grant to the citizens [of the GDL] their rights and freedoms, also, Crown and GDL interestate privileges, writs related to the union and others, also a list of treaties with Moldavia and truces with Muscovy, in addition, Metrica privileges, declarations, and various court books, are transferred in the presence of the authorized representatives appointed by his grace the king, his luminous grace, Krzysztof Naruszewicz, the Lithuanian land treasurer, master of the hunt, and notary, the steward of Viešvėnai, the keeper of Novy dvor, etc., and his grace Mikołaj Brolnicki, the LDK treasury supervisor, the luminous duke Albrycht Stanislaw Radziwill, the duke of Olyka and Nesvyzh, the GDL chancellor, administrator of Gniew, Tuchola, the manager of Veliuona and Baisogala, here in Vilnius, on this 26th day of November in 1623, by hands of his friends and servants, their graces the Navahrudak land court judge Andrzej Obryński, a knight of the Holy Sepulcher, Andrzej Skorulski, and his grace the duke's servant Jakub Ogrodziński, taken over

35 *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Archiwum Radziwiłłow, dz. XXVII, no. 11.

> from their graces Adam Paszkiewicz and Jan Drost [?], by the order of his luminous grace Lew Sapieha, the Vilnius palatine.

The ending says:

> These listed privileges and documents that belong to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with their list have been placed into chests and drawers, while the Metrica books, which were placed into two separate chests, have been stamped with the seals of his grace, the duke, chancellor [A. S. Radziwiłł], and his grace, the GDL treasurer [Naruszewicz] and deposited in the treasury cellar, in the Vilnius [Lower] Castle of his grace the king. Because the documents related to the domains of Goštautas and other escheated property, which belongs to the table of his grace, the king [i.e., the personal domains of the ruler], have not been written up and sorted, the documents cannot be taken over until they are placed in proper order. This matter must be postponed until his grace the Vilnius palatine [i.e., Lew Sapieha—*D. A.*] will make arrangements for this with his grace, the duke, the chancellor.

Acts of state importance were placed into fifteen separate drawers, and numbered using letters and Arabic numerals (A1–5, B1–5, C1–5). These documents have been discussed and have survived.[36] After listing the contents of the last drawer, C5, on page 13 it was written: *Metryka stara Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*. The very use of the words "old Metrica" testifies that these were not the books rewritten upon the initiative of Lew Sapieha, which have survived to our days, but the original books of the Lithuanian Metrica. A list of these particular books was published recently, with 150 entries.[37] It includes nine books that do not appear among the surviving copied books, not among those on the list drawn up on March 11, 1623. On the other hand, the list of November 26, 1623 hardly mentions all the books that have survived to our days in one form or another. There are thirty-two missing that are now in Moscow, among the books that are part of the Lithuanian Metrica collection: 1–2, 9, 54–55, 61, 65, 68–69, 71–72, 75–76, 221, 223, 224, 232, 236, 265, 270, 273, 276–278, 280, 282, 525, 530–532, 566, 568. We are quite certain about books 9, 61, 65, 71, 221, 223, 232, 236, 273, 276, and 280. These are the surviving original sixteenth-century Lithuanian Metrica books that were returned to the

36 Mikulski, "Dokumenty z archiwum," 71–83.
37 Antanavičius, "Originalių," 157–186.

chancellery from individuals after 1623. What causes more uncertainty is why has there been no mention of the originals of those sixteenth-century books that were rewritten and have survived to our days (books 1–2, 54–55, 68–69, 72, 75–76, 224, 265, 270, 277–278, 282, 525, 530–532, 566, and 568). Obviously, this is a task for future research.

Some of the listings of November 26, 1623 provide us with additional information about which particular notary would have been involved in the preparation of specific books. For example, positions 131 and 135 on the list suggest that the current books 246 and 252 were compiled by the notary Mordas (*sprawy pana Mordasa*), as copied Book 246 is missing from both the register of documents from the late sixteenth century and the title page, and it begins immediately with the first document.

Another important feature of the list November 26, 1623 is that it allows us to determine the term exactly from when in the late sixteenth century the "new" books that had been begun in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were no longer being rewritten and their originals have survived to our days. The answer comes from three books from the reign of Sigismund III Vasa that were mentioned on this list of November 26, 1623, and their comparison to the data on the March 11, 1623 list (where, apart from the books rewritten in the late sixteenth century there are also those from the late sixteenth century and up to 1620). As such, according to the chronology of the aforementioned three books from the reign of Sigismund III Vasa it can be said that the *terminus a quo* is 1596. This date, incidentally, completely correlates with the year when Chancellor Lew Sapieha saw to the rewriting of the old books.

A new audit of the vice-chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books was organized on October 14–15, 1641. It was conducted by the Vilnius Cathedral canon and royal secretary Jan Dowgiałło Zawisza and the royal secretary Piotr Rajski.

> Dowgiałło Zawisza was university educated (having studied at the Vilnius Academy and abroad), a doctor in both laws, was proficient in languages and was well travelled, known for his eloquence, erudition, and broader worldview. In 1635 he became a preacher at the St. Stanislaus Vilnius Cathedral, becoming its canon in 1639 and a prelate-archdeacon in 1645. In 1649, Dowgiałło Zawisza was appointed as the grand duchy's referendary for church affairs, and was elected as the bishop of Vilnius in 1656. He died in 1661. Apart from his title as the royal secretary, one he held from at least

1637, as indicated in the audit entries, little else is known about Rajski. He must have belonged to the large collective of middle-ranking officials working in the chancellery.

What were the circumstances behind this particular audit of the Lithuanian Metrica? It should also be associated with the changeover in the most superior officials at the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Vice-Chancellor Stefan Pac died on November 17, 1640, whereupon Marcjan Tryzna, who was an old, close friend and client of Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, was nominated as his successor on August 30, 1641. From Radziwiłł's Memoirs we learn that once Tryzna became the vice-chancellor, other offices closely related to the chancellery were also shuffled around somewhat: Tryzna's former positions as the referendary for church affairs of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and notary, which he had held up to August 30, 1641, went to another one of Radziwiłł's old clients, the Vilnius Chapter canon, Hrodno parish church priest and royal secretary Franciszek Dołmat-Isajkowski, who had previously been the regent of the chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books. In turn, his office went to Dowgiałło Zawisza.

The entries made by the auditors alone are insufficient to determine where this new audit of the vice-chancellors' books was conducted. Radziwiłł, the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was at a sejm in Warsaw from August 23, 1641 until October 11, 1641, after which he departed, travelling through Lublin to his residence in Olyka. The new Vice-Chancellor Tryzna was also in Warsaw whilst the sejm was in session. We know that he was there until at least October 10, 1641, after which his further itinerary remains unknown. Where were the vice-chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books at this time?

Judging by the privilege of Władysław IV Vasa of 1636, whilst the ruler and his court were in residence in the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the books would have been kept in the brick house of the Vilnius burgher Grzegorz Kołzanowski, but in October 1641, the ruler was in Warsaw. We also know that the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter member, Dowgiałło Zawisza, signed the audited vice-chancellors' books in his capacity as the new regent of the Lithuanian Metrica chancellors' books and did not participate in the chapter's meetings in Vilnius on September 30–October 2, 1641 because he had been sent to the sejm in Warsaw. It could be that he managed to return to Vilnius before October 14, yet this is

less likely as Tryzna, to whom the vice-chancellors' books had to be transferred, stayed in Warsaw until at least October 10, or probably even longer, and would not have been able to reach Vilnius before October 14. As such, there are grounds to state that following the death of the vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Stefan Pac (November 17, 1640), at an indiscernible time and probably upon the ruler's orders, Chancellor Radziwiłł placed the vice-chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica under his supervision until a new vice-chancellor would be appointed. When Tryzna was elected to this office, the chancellor appointed his own auditors to check these books before transferring them into the hands of the new official in Warsaw.

How exactly did this audit in 1641 take place? The auditors restricted themselves to standard entries about the beginning and end of each book on the first and last completed page. The marking of the beginning and end of the registers of entered documents followed a similar pattern. There are very few other entries besides these—mostly just the word *vacat* on blank pages or larger gaps. Some of their original entries are as follows: *Anno 1641 die 14 (15) 8bris Jan Dowgiałło Zawisza canonicus Vilnensis, sekretarz (secretarius) WKL (mp.)* or *Piotr Rayski secretarius SRM mp*. A trend becomes evident that most entries appear in those books that were not checked by Białłozor or Marcinkiewicz, the auditors of the vice-chancellors' books in 1618–1619. This can easily be explained: The first auditors had already completed their task, as such, and given the short period of time that had passed, there was no practical reason why similar inscriptions should have to be repeated so soon. Some of the entries do shed some light on the condition of particular books in 1641 (for example, 101, 104, and 300), but generally speaking, the entries of the auditors in 1641 offer much less specific information about the condition of the books than do those of their predecessors. The markings made by the latter could potentially be used to analyze how the beginning and end of the vice-chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books changed (or did not change) over time.

What was the extent of the audit of 1641? The auditors left markings in thirty-two Lithuanian Metrica vice-chancellors' books. These are the current books 72, 76, 80, 86, 92, 94–96, 100–102, 104, 109, 110, 112, 278, 282, 285, 290, 291, 294, 295, 298, 299, 300, 304, 305, 307, 309, 313, 314, and 318. They had to also review books 308 and 315, which currently bear defects (pages are missing from the beginning and end), as such they simply lack

some of the corresponding entries. Thus, on October 14–15, 1641 a total of thirty-four vice-chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books were checked.

In summary, we could say that the audits of the chancellors' and vice-chancellors' books of the Lithuanian Metrica conducted in 1618–1619, 1623, and 1641 point to a developing trend: It became standard procedure to conduct audits of the Lithuanian Metrica books when chancellors and vice-chancellors changed office. This clearly developing tradition was broken in 1656. First, on January 19 of that year Vice-Chancellor Kazimierz Lew Sapieha died (fig. 11), while the chancellor himself, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, died on November 12. Let us keep in mind under what historic circumstances their deaths occurred: On August 8, 1655 the army of the tsar of Muscovy occupied the Lithuanian capital Vilnius and a majority of its eastern lands, the Commonwealth's ruler John Casimir Vasa, fleeing the attacking Swedes, retreated to Silesia in October, 1656 and both the grand and vice-chancellors established their residences as per their own will and understanding—given the dramatic situation, Vice-Chancellor Sapieha tried to organize some form of defense of the state but fell ill and died in Brest, while Chancellor Radziwiłł remained in hiding in Poland and ultimately died in Gdańsk. Once they died, Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac was finally nominated vice-cancellor and chancellor, yet not at once, only in early 1658. Exactly what was happening with the Lithuanian Metrica books at the time is completely unknown,[38] nor would it be worth expecting that any kind of auditing would have been taking place under such circumstances; it is fortunate that they were not destroyed completely during the turmoil and were somehow preserved for future generations, unlike the original Metrica and treasury books which were kept in the Vilnius Lower Castle—these were lost for all time.

38 There are claims in literature, featuring unfounded source references, that before the Muscovites occupied Vilnius, there was time for the Lithuanian Metrica to be removed from Vilnius and taken to Prussia (see: I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Archiwum dokumentowe Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego," in *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), 49–50). It must first of all be proven that the Lithuanian Metrica was actually in Vilnius in the summer of 1655. The fact that it was not destroyed is evident from a statement disproving the one above: A. S. Radziwiłł and Vice-Chancellor K. L. Sapieha would take the books belonging to them with their court, which is why they were not lost.

Figure 11. *Vice-Chancellor Kazimierz Lew Sapieha (1609–1656) by unknown eighteenth-century Lithuanian painter*. (Lithuanian Art Museum)

Another audit of the Lithuanian Metrica books we know of now was conducted only over a century later—in 1747. As far as is known, by then the books were already being kept in Warsaw. The stimulus for organizing this revision was the "enormous disorder" stated as fact in late 1746 by the Lithuanian Chancellor Jan Fryderyk Sapieha and Vice-Chancellor Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski, as well as other senators and officials of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, "as [the books] had to not only be rebound, but also an overall audit had to be conducted to make a record of all the acts so that henceforth, all citizens of the GDL could more easily find [the required documents] in this Metrica to satisfy their needs." Upon receiving this kind of declaration from the highest-ranked individuals in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Commonwealth's ruler at the time, Augustus III, issued an order to the great treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Jan Jerzy Flemming, to "pay out 4,000 Polish złoty to those noble commissars [authorized individuals] whom the all-powerful chancellor and vice-chancellor of the GDL shall appoint to check the mentioned Metrica, make records and put it in the finest order."[39] The Szuneliszki

39 A. Dounar, "Da pytannia ab revizii Metryki Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga 1741–1751," in *Aktual'nyia pytanni vyvuchennia i vydannia Metryki Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga. Mater'ialy mizhnarodnai navukova-praktychnai kanferentsyi (Minsk, 11–12 listapada 2003 g.)* (Minsk: Instytut gystoryi NAN Belarusi, 2005), 136.

administrator (*starosta szuneliszki*) Jan Chrapowicki and Livonian master of the camp Jan Szadurski were appointed as these commissars/auditors. The result of their work was the first general inventory of the whole Lithuanian Metrica prepared on May 4, 1747; the only known text of this inventory was destroyed in fire, as mentioned earlier, during the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. The books of the Lithuanian Metrica were classified into separate grand and vice-chancellors' groups for the first time in this inventory. The groups had 322 and ninety-six books each respectively, with another seventy so-called protocol volumes added to the chancellors' books group. The commissars also ordered that a digest of all the titles of documents in the Lithuanian Metrica books be compiled. Earlier it was said that this was simply a mechanical transliteration into Latin script of the registered documents entered at the start of each book, which was initiated by Lew Sapieha at the end of the sixteenth century when the books were being rewritten,[40] but some of the work had to have been done from the beginning as not all books had these late sixteenth-century registers. And, when comparing the document registers of specific books with the registers from this later digest, some differences are noticeable, meaning this is a task for potential future research. In one way or another, the digest of these registers consists of fifteen volumes in total, which despite various twists and turns in history are today kept in Warsaw, at the Central Archives of Historical Records.[41] Concordance between the registered volumes and the extant Metrica books is given only in specialist literature.[42] Note also that other similar summaries are today kept at the aforementioned Warsaw archive.[43] The correlation between these two registers, especially the timing when the second one was prepared, is still quite unclear and is also a task for future research.

The last audit and subsequent rearrangement of the Lithuanian Metrica books was carried out just before the dissolution of the

40 J. Jakubowski, "Wiadomości o świeżo odzyskanym z Rosji sumariuszu Metryki Litewskiej z lat 1747–51," *Ateneum Wileńskie* 8 (1933): 216.

41 *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, "Sumariusze Metryki Litewskiej" collection.

42 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* appendices no. 4 and 5 (1750 summaries).

43 *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich, manuscripts 15–30. Correlation between the registered volumes and the extant Metrica books is given in Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* appendices no. 4 and 5 (APP summaries).

Commonwealth. In 1786 or a little earlier, the Polish king and Lithuanian grand duke Stanisław Augustus, apparently after having received news from the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Aleksander Michał Sapieha and Vice-Chancellor Joachim Litawor Chreptowicz regarding the deplorable state of the Lithuanian Metrica, which was then being kept in totally unsuitable damp conditions, issued orders for the books to be taken care of. This was done under the supervision of the notary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Adam Naruszewicz, under the direct supervision of the last *metrykant*, Grzegorz Kaczanowski: all the books were rebound, a printed page was stuck onto the frontispiece with information about the work that had been done, as was a list of documents (register) in each book in Latin script. Finally, in this final state, the Metrica was transferred from the mentioned unsuitable premises to the so-called Commonwealth, or Krasiński Palace, where it ultimately ended up in the Commonwealth treasury archive, as it once had in Vilnius. New leather was used to rebind the books, and some of the old covers were also reused, the old impressions were erased, new auditing entries were added, only now into the newly bound books. An example of this work could be the case of Book 18 of the Lithuanian Metrica. When this book was being put into order, which had at Sapieha's initiative been rewritten and bound in the late sixteenth century, the covers of an original court records book from the reign of Władysław IV in the first half of the seventeenth century were used. This is evident from an inscription rubbed off from the leather on the first black leather hardcover, which is still legible: *Księgi dekretów za panowania Króla Je(go) Mci Władysława IVo.* In the center was a Vytis that had been almost completely erased in the late eighteenth century. The inscription continues underneath: *za kanclerstwa . . .* [illegible] *Albrychta Stanisława Radziwiła od roku MDCXXXVI do roku MDCXXXVIII* [illegible]. It suggests that the covers were taken from a court records book from 1636–1638 formed by a notary subordinate to the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł (now this is Book 317). A currently unknown sum of money was allocated for the binding of these books initially, but it proved to be insufficient as we know that on September 19, 1788 Kaczanowski appealed to the Permanent Council, asking for an additional sum of 1,620 Polish złoty for the binding of 630 volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica. The council satisfied the request with the sum being taken from the Polish treasury, as there was no more money

in the Lithuanian treasury, it having already been set aside for "other public needs."[44]

During the course of this work, the last inventory of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica was prepared in 1787, leaving a record of its content and arrangement before its appropriation and transport to Russia. An original (?) of this inventory has survived which is currently in Saint Petersburg, at the Institute of Russian Literature. The manuscript itself and some of the details concerning its wandering history have already been discussed.[45] Regardless of various intentions, it has not yet been published, so lacking any facsimiles we are left to use the copies of this document that are in Lithuania. The copy of this inventory kept in the Vilnius Society of Friends of Science collections,[46] into which the latest material from 1788–1793 has already been incorporated, indicates that the Metrica books continued to be divided into the grand and vice-chancellors' groups, where they were placed into a straightforward chronological order. The group of chancellors' books consisted of 445 items (books 442 and 443 consisted of originals of the Second Partition of the Commonwealth of 1793 or authorized copies thereof, while Book 445 consisted of all twenty-nine volumes of the Cyrillic books that had been transcribed into Latin), while the vice-chancellors' group of books had 119 entries (the last one here, Book 119, consisted of four volumes Kaczanowski had assembled from document copies collected from other archives). Thus, according to this inventory, before being transported away to Saint Petersburg, the Lithuanian Metrica must have consisted of a total of 595 volumes. This number does not correspond with the one Kaczanowski submitted to the Permanent Council back in the autumn of 1788 about the necessity of binding 630 Lithuanian Metrica books. Why this discrepancy occurred is unknown—it is also a task for future research. The copy of the 1787 inventory kept in the collections of the Vilnius Society of Friends of Science is also valuable because it has a second part (the time of its preparation is unknown, nor do we know whether it is associated with the main list of books), where all the Metrica books have been divided into three groups, or sections, according to the nature of the

44 R. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, "Kas mokėjo už Lietuvos Metrikos knygų įrišimą? Epizodas iš Lietuvos Metrikos archyvo tvarkymo 1786–1788 m.," *Lietuvos Metrikos naujienos* 8 (2004/2005): 47–50.

45 Dziarnovich, "Inventar'," 261–276.

46 Lithuanian State History Archives, col. 1135 (Vilnius Society of Friends of Science), inv. 4, file 14.

material bound within. This original attempt at systematizing the books of the Lithuanian Metrica has been titled as follows (language uncorrected): *Rozgatunkowanie ksiąg Metryki Litewskiej na akta oddziału dyplomatycznego tytuły i ozdaby doczesne osab, oddziału cywilnego dakumenta wieczyste przyznań, dekretów, oblat dóbr zawierającego z wymienieniem tych, które pomieszane mają dyplomatyczne z cywilnemi akta, a przeto urzędowe z nich kopie rodzaju cywilnego do wypisania dla wygody obywatelów potrzebne*.

It is rather difficult to convey the essence of the original chapters *oddział dyplomatyczny* and *oddział cywilny* in one word. As the explanatory words *tytuły i ozdaby doczesne osab* suggest, the term *dyplomatyczny* must have alluded to all the privileges associated with the nomination (appointment) of individuals to specific offices, while *cywilny* would have been any documents related to property at the disposal of individuals, as well as court decrees (*dakumenta wieczyste przyznań, dekretów, oblat dóbr*), and ultimately, the "mixed" section would have included books featuring the first two qualities. In the four-sectioned table, all the books were divided among these three chapters, for example, the first five books of the Lithuanian Metrica were allocated to the "mixed" chapter. Obviously, this method of classification was false, yet it does testify to the efforts of applying systematizing criteria understood by the compilers at the time.

When the Tadeusz Kościuszko Uprising of 1794 was subdued, all of the material from the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was taken from Warsaw and Vilnius to Saint Petersburg upon the orders of the occupant government of the Russian Empire,[47] and have to this day not been returned to their place of origin.

The removal of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica to Saint Petersburg in 1794 was so disastrous as it resulted in the destruction of its original structure that was over 300 years in the making. A fateful role in this process was played by the so-called Kirschbaum inventory, prepared in 1798 when the books of the Lithuanian Metrica were being handed over to Department III of the Governing Senate. It was published quite early on.[48] We have learned that the members of the commission formed to put the books of the Crown and Lithuanian Metrica into order took the Crown's,

47 The confusing and rather differently interpreted details in literature concerning the transfer of the Lithuanian Metrica from Warsaw to Vilnius, from Vilnius back to Warsaw, and from Warsaw back again to Vilnius in the period 1792–1794 are chronologically listed in chapter 8 by Šmigelskytė-Stukienė in this book.

48 *Kniga posol'skaia*, 393–418.

that is, Poland's, Metrica as the basis for how the Lithuanian Metrica would be arranged, and applied it in a purely mechanical manner. Thus, it was precisely at this point that the Lithuanian Metrica was divided into eight sections for the first time, which were confirmed with minor supplementations by the commission in 1835–1837, finally being entrenched in Ptaszycki's *Inventory*, published in 1887.[49] In 1954, during revision work carried out on the Lithuanian Metrica collection in the Central Archive of Ancient Acts of the Soviet Union at the time, the old nineteenth-century arrangement was dismissed altogether, and the entire complex of books of the Lithuanian Metrica was divided into two parts of different sizes, with separate inventories, and a new numbering system based on a simple, arithmetic principle, basically upholding the order of sections in Ptaszycki's *Inventory*, that is, the first numbers were given to the so-called books of records group, followed by the books of court records, and so forth.

49 Ptaszycki acknowledges that he used the old inventory by the commission made in 1835–1837 as the basis for his *Inventory* (see Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 20).

Chapter 7

Storage of the Lithuanian Metrica: Balancing State Interests and Personal Whims

The Lithuanian Metrica in the State Treasury

A specific problem concerning the Lithuanian Metrica is how and where it, as an archive, had been kept. The Lithuanian Metrica, the "product" of the chancellery's activities, had to constantly "move around" with the chancellors and other chancellery staff, and of course, had to physically be kept somewhere; however, there is very little information about this from the first half of the sixteenth century.

General research associated with the earliest places where documents were stored in the second half of the fourteenth century, the beginnings of an archive, points to the treasuries of Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–1377) and the Duke of Trakai Kęstutis (1341–1382) in the Vilnius and Trakai castles, where the meagre number of documents for that time, usually treaties with foreign rulers, were kept along with all manner of treasure in chests and bags. Keeping important documents and the books of their copies in treasuries was common practice in the neighboring lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. So too Jogaila (grand duke from 1377), as a father, kept documents he considered important in the Vilnius castle, but once Vytautas became the grand duke, he chose to have his treasury at the new Trakai castle on the island in Lake Galvė. It is believed

that the originals of documents of state importance and those critical to Vytautas were kept at this treasury, along with treaties with foreign rulers.[1] He dedicated a great deal of attention to correspondence with the rulers of neighboring countries, as sources indicate numerous references to how the grand duke ensured original letters were stored properly and sent copies to his political partners.[2] On the other hand, the Trakai castle Vytautas fortified did not replace the treasury at the Vilnius Lower Castle as the main archive (fig. 12).

Based on the information about the storage of one original document at the Trakai castle, scientists asserted that the original constitutional documents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (privileges, treaties with foreign states) and perhaps any chancellery books of copied documents, the Metrica, continued to be kept there after Vytautas, until 1501, and were only moved to Vilnius in 1501–1511.[3] This information, a notary's comment *Originales repositae sunt in castro Trocensi sub cura thesaurarii terrestris etc.*, is written in Book 5 of the Lithuanian Metrica under a copy of the treaty between Grand Duke Alexander and the master of the Livonian Order of June 21, 1501, written in opposition to the ruler of Muscovy.[4] Researchers have made very abrupt assessments of the data, ignoring the nuances of its emergence in terms of handwriting: The notary's comment was entered *under the copy of the document* in the Metrica book, that is, it was not in the original, which means the entry does not date to 1501 but sometime later. The copy of this treaty should be associated with a series of fifteen copied documents entered into the same Metrica Book in 1427–1483—Lithuania's treaties with the Novgorod land, Pskov, the duke of Tver, Moldavian palatines, and so forth, as they were entered into Book 5 of the Lithuanian Metrica immediately after the treaty of 1501 with Livonia.

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1 Kosman, "Archiwum wielkiego księcia Witolda," 132–138.

2 R. Čapaitė, "List jako narzędzie komunikacji wielkiego księcia litewskiego Witolda," *Studia Źrodłoznawcze* 50 (2012): 46–47. We thank Čapaitė for this information.

3 This information from Ptaszycki (see Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 4) made its way into a majority of works by Lithuanian Metrica researchers. Banionis doubted this, as he called it, "digest-worthy axiom," about the Metrica's storage at Trakai, see: E. Banionis, Įvadas, *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 5 (1427–1506). Užrašymų knyga 5*, ed. A. Baliulis, A. Dubonis, D. Antanavičius (texts in Latin) (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 2012), 20. Another who agrees with him is Hrusha, "'Khranit' vechno,'" 46 (footnote 184, 45–46).

4 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 5*, no. 532 (350).

Figure 12. *The Lithuanian Metrica was kept in the cellars of the treasury at the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in Vilnius Lower Castle.* (Photograph by Romas Mičiūnas)

On the other hand, there is also an independent stack of documents with a separate title, "Herein are the old treaties of King Casimir, when he was still a grand duke."[5] It is not difficult to guess where the originals of these documents could have been kept—we could have probably found them in Vilnius in the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the notary did not enter any comments about the exclusive (or accidental?) place where the originals were being kept in the copies. Given these circumstances, our attention should be drawn to the role of the land treasurer in keeping the original from 1501, as he had to ensure the treaty was kept safe when its original ended up in Trakai. This means that given these circumstances, Trakai became an unexpected place for the storage of the ruler's documents. The fact that the land treasurer was responsible for the protection of state documents is confirmed by well-known facts from the first half of the sixteenth century (1533, 1547)[6] about the keeping of original state documents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, later also the chancellery and treasury Metrica books, in the premises of the Vilnius Lower Castle treasury (e.g., in the cellars in 1597).[7] It was here that original, loose documents would be kept in bags, boxes, and chests with drawers: state privileges, union acts,

5 Ibid., no. 533–547 (350–364).

6 Hrusha, "'Khranit' vechno,'" 44–46.

7 *Vilniaus Žemutinė pilis XIV a.–XIX a. pradžioje*, ed. R. Ragauskienė (Vilnius: Pilių tyrimo centras "Lietuvos pilys," 2006), 237.

international treaties, and other documents and their copies acquired in various ways, also the Metrica books being formed from various document copies. The keeping of the ruler's archive in the treasury highlighted the exceptional value of the documentation being stored, guaranteeing its better care and better storage conditions.[8]

In a chronological sense, the books of copies from the grand duke's chancellery, the Metrica, did make up the newer part of the ruler's archive. The oldest part comprised of state privileges issued to the estates and lands, "union" treaties with Poland, treaties with foreign states and other documents. Carefully stored in the treasury, when they were needed for the ruler's purposes, they would be copied. In this way, in Book 25 of the Lithuanian Metrica we have a copy of the privilege issued in 1387 by the grand duke (and Polish king) Jogaila to the Lithuanian nobility, which was duplicated for the needs of the queen and grand duchess Bona (1494–1557), the Union of Horodło of 1413, extracts from the privileges of Žygimantas Kęstutaitis from 1434, Casimir Jagiellon from 1447, Alexander Jagiellon from 1492, and the privileges of Sigismund the Old from 1506 and 1529, the Bielski land privilege,[9] and in Book 5 there was a series of earlier-mentioned treaties with the Novgorod land, Pskov, the duke of Tver, the palatines of Moldavia, and so forth, dating to 1427–1483. Registers of the grand duke's grants and treasury disbursements appear in the middle of the fifteenth century, while from 1476 books of copied documents are formed as part of his chancellery's activities, the Metrica, into which the mentioned registers, grants, treasury disbursement, and diplomatic legation document copies are compiled. The treasury books also formed alongside the Lithuanian Metrica as a separate unit of documents and books in the first half of the sixteenth century. The books of the palatines, the Council of Lords, castle court books, and other non-chancellery-produced material would be given over for storage together with the ruler's chancellery books. Treasury documents as well as document-trophies from wars with the state of Muscovy would also find their way into this archive. All of this material became constituent units of the Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—the Lithuanian Metrica archive.

8 The treasury premises in the Vilnius Lower Castle (the ruler's palace), for example, did have heating according to data from June 18, 1592, see *Vilniaus Žemutinė pilis*, 236–237.

9 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 25*, no. 1–4 (35–61).

Storage of the Lithuanian Metrica Books and Other State Documents with the Radziwiłłs

Even though the books of the Lithuanian Metrica and other state documents used to be kept in the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in Vilnius, in the rulers' palace, some of the documents, especially those required on a regular basis, were kept in the chancellery. Two infamous cousins—Radziwiłł the Black and Radziwiłł the Red—understood perfectly well the importance of the Lithuanian Metrica books, the state privileges, and other public documents that were under their jurisdiction as chancellors. It suffices to recall the words of Radziwiłł the Black written in the introduction to Book 35, that the Metrica books were a source of "knowledge, honor, and power". Thus, while there were no regulations on the storage of the state archive, both chancellors kept a considerable number of important documents in their residences. Their predecessors and relatives had acted in a similar way—their uncle and grandfather, both named Mikołaj Radziwiłł, who were chancellors in the period 1492–1522. This practice did not arouse any astonishment or anger from the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the time.

As indicated in the privilege of 1568 that confirmed equality for Catholic and Orthodox believers' rights, the nobility entrusted Radziwiłł the Black to keep an earlier privilege passed by Sigismund Augustus at the Vilnius sejm on June 6, 1563, in his capacity as the Lithuanian chancellor.[10] The document also indicates that the ancestors of Radziwiłł the Black had already been keeping state documents in their homes, which is why the nobility also entrusted the privilege of 1563 that was so important to them to the chancellor to also keep at his home. Nonetheless, Radziwiłł the Black stood out among other chancellors for his penchant for "taking in" so many public state documents into his private archive. The magnate practically equaled his private archive to the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and started to keep many important state documents, most probably at his Lukiškės manor. It appears that the greatest quantity of state documents were taken from the treasury during his chancellorship in particular, while newly issued documents were transferred for safekeeping directly to the

10 Jakubowski, "Archiwum państwowe," 2–3: "w kotoroho domu i schowanju prodkow jeho milosti tez prawa i wolnosti wsieho toho panstwa pered tym leziwali i w celosti dochowany, i nie mniej jako kanclerowi, kotoromu s toho wradu swoieho kanclerskoho takowyje priwilja ziemskije w dozrenju wladzy į (w) sprawie swojej mieti nalezalo."

magnate's private archive. After the chancellor's death, some of this public material, including some of the Metrica books the chancellor had administered, were taken over by Vice-Chancellor Wołłowicz. However, a great deal of important documentation remained in the hands of the magnate's heirs. Radziwiłł the Orphan,[11] the eldest son of Radziwiłł the Black who took over his father's archive after his death, immediately faced requests from magnates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and even the ruler to return one or another document, or bundles thereof, that had been kept in his father's private archive to the treasury where they were meant to be kept. Such requests grew more frequent once the political circumstances changed, for example, changes to the jurisdiction of Livonia, the eve of the signing of the Union of Lublin, and so forth

Radziwiłł the Orphan however treated his father's archive as his indivisible property—as "famous monuments of the Radziwiłł family." As such, he did not hurry to return the requested documents or would send out copies instead of the originals. In 1594, Chancellor Sapieha complained to Radziwiłł the Orphan that "numerous metricas are no longer found in the treasury, both during the chancellorship of His Grace, the father of Your Grace, and also during the chancellorship of His Grace, the father of His Grace the palatine of Vilnius [Radziwiłł the Red]."[12] The subsequent Radziwiłł dukes of Nesvyzh also did not hurry to return the state documents they had sheltered. Conversely, in order to entrench the situation that had unfolded and legitimize the storage of the books in the family archive, a constitution passed at the Commonwealth sejm in 1768, legalized a privilege allegedly issued by Sigismund Augustus in Vilnius in 1551, whereby Radziwiłł the Black and his brother Jan, and their descendants, were given the right to keep the archive of the Lithuanian state in their homes. The Radziwiłłs were very proud of having become the "archivists of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania," and even today there are several hundred state documents among those kept in the Radziwiłł archive in Warsaw.[13]

The main scribes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, having taken over administration of state documents and the operating books of the

11 T. Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616). Wojewoda Wileński* (Warszawa: Semper, 2000), 197–198.

12 Letter from Lew Sapieha to Radziwiłł the Orphan, dated January 15, 1594, Vilnius, *Archiwum domu Sapiehów*, vol. 1, 79.

13 T. Zielińska, "Archiwa rożnych linii rodu Radziwiłłów w polskich zbiorach publicznych," *Miscellanea Historico–Archivistica* 7 (1997): 122; Mikulski, "Dokumenty z archiwum," 72.

Lithuanian Metrica, also almost considered them as their property and similarly did not hurry to return them to the treasury. Documents of the khan of the Perekop Horde that were needed for a diplomatic legation could not be found in the treasury in 1570. Sigismund Augustus asked Radziwiłł the Red to look for the necessary documents in the archive of his son Mikołaj Radziwiłł, as the latter had married the widow of the main scribe, J. Simkiewicz, while the scribe, according to the ruler, "the deceased Simkiewicz had not only not returned those [the required documents], but also many other necessary books, registers, and privileges which he had kept with him, and especially those associated with the Goštautas domains that upon our orders he inscribed himself, but did not give to us and kept for himself."[14]

Storage of the Lithuanian Metrica with Vilnius Burghers

A number of documents have survived from the end of the reign of Sigismund III Vasa (second quarter of the seventeenth century) and especially the reign of Władysław Vasa in the Commonwealth that relate to the storage of the Lithuanian Metrica in the homes of Vilnius burghers. All of these documents have been published quite a long time ago, even suggesting the existence of a body of literature dedicated to this particular matter regarding the Metrica.[15]

The first privilege was issued in Warsaw on June 3, 1629. At the request of Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, Sigismund Vasa relieved the Vilnius burghers, the late Jakub Jabłek and Jakub Mor, from the duty of accommodating guests at their so-called Silvester brick house (named after its previous owner) "for the safer storage of our [i.e., ruler's—*D. A.*] chancellery acts and the advance accommodation [of the chancellor—*D. A.*]

14 Letter from Sigismund Augustus to Radziwiłł the Red, dated February 23, 1570, Warsawa, *Listy króla*, 574.

15 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 273–277; M. Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic, przeznaczonych na chowanie Metryki W. Ks. L. (1588–1712)," *Ateneum Wileńskie* 7 (1930): appendix no. 5, 293–311; A. Baliulis, "O mestakh khraneniia LM v Vil′niuse," in *Litovskaia Metrika. Tezisy dokladov mezhrespublikanskoi nauchnoi konferentsii, aprel′ 1988 g,* edited by E. Banionis, Z. Kiaupa, and L. Mulevičius (Vilnius: Institut istorii AN Litovskoi SSR, 1988), 61–63; A. Ragauskas, "Nauji duomenys apie Vilniaus miestiečius, kurių namuose XVII a. saugota Lietuvos Metrika," *Lietuvos Metrikos naujienos*, no. 4 (2000): 24–27; R. Jurgaitis, "Ar XVIII a. pabaigoje buvo pastatyti Lietuvos Metrikos archyvo rūmai Vilniuje?," *Lietuvos Metrikos naujienos* 8 (2006): 51–55.

when he arrives in Vilnius."[16] Łowmiańska located this house at 19 Didžioji Street in Vilnius. Given a series of lucky circumstances, descriptions of this and other houses from this period are presented in a publication prepared by Mindaugas Paknys of the 1636 census of Vilnius houses set aside for accommodating the court of Władysław Vasa.[17] Thus, in 1636 the Silvester brick house had the following appearance:

> The brick house of the late Mor is under the jurisdiction of the city. The ground floor has a space where a goldsmith sells his wares and a vestibule, a small storeroom, and kitchen. There is one cellar under the building. On the second floor, facing the street, are two rooms with stores, a vestibule, and a small kitchen. The servants of the chancellor of the GDL lived here, before that, a decree scribe had stayed here.[18]

Another three privileges associated with the right to keep the Lithuanian Metrica were issued by Władysław Vasa when he was residing in Vilnius. First, upon the request of Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, on April 21, 1636 he granted this right to Jan Kluczata and the brick house under his ownership.[19] In terms of the history of the Lithuanian Metrica, the most important part of the privilege mentions the necessity "that our chancellery affairs shall be put into order as soon and as securely as possible whilst we are in Vilnius, and when we are not, the acts, or Metrica, could be kept in a suitable place." Kluczata's brick house was located at 13 Didžioji Street. In 1636, it had the following appearance:

> Jan Kluczata's brick house is under the city's jurisdiction. In accordance with state duties, it has been leased to the grand chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It had earlier accommodated the Crown decree scribe [Jan Laurency?] Rudawski. There are two shops on the ground floor, two warehouses, five small storage spaces for keeping things, a spirits distillery, a shed for storing hay, and one cellar. On the other side is a shop with a room, a vestibule, and a small kitchen. There is also a warehouse, a tavern space with a storage room, a vestibule and small kitchen, a cellar, and a stable for four horses. At the end is a room with a small vestibule and kitchen.

16 Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic," appendix no. 2.

17 M. Paknys, *Vilniaus miestas ir miestiečiai 1636 m.: namai, gyventojai, svečiai* (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2006).

18 Ibid., 92, no. 32.

19 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 274–275; Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic," appendix no. 3.

> Climbing up to the second floor are three rooms with storage spaces and windows facing out into the yard, a vestibule and small kitchen. At the top, facing the street, there is a room with heating, a vestibule, a small kitchen and a larder. At the end of the second floor are two rooms with a vestibule and kitchen. On the third floor there is a room with a vestibule and small kitchen. Opposite, there is a room with a storage space, a vestibule, and a small kitchen. The owner of the house presented the privilege of the late ruler Sigismund Vasa, which confirms the privilege issued by the current ruler, whereby he is relieved of the duty to accommodate guests.[20]

The earlier privileges of Sigismund Vasa and Władysław Vasa regarding being released from the duty to offer accommodation to guests mentioned in the description of this building are also known to researchers. The first was issued on January 4, 1588 in Kraków by Sigismund Vasa,[21] while the second was issued by Władysław Vasa in Hrodno on May 31, 1633, confirming the first one.[22]

Incidentally, the date of the first privilege may not be very reliable, as the confirmation of 1633 indicates its place of issue as Warsaw not Kraków, nor do the day and month correlate (May 12), while the year is also completely misleading (1531!). Perhaps one other privilege had been issued, for example, on May 12, 1631? One way or another, neither of these privileges make the slightest mention of granting the right to store the Lithuanian Metrica.

Barely two months had passed when on July 17, 1636 Władysław Vasa issued another privilege in Vilnius—this time to the Vilnius burgher Jerzy Lang. Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł mediated once again. In this privilege, the same words are used to express the necessity "that our chancellery affairs be put into order as soon and as securely as possible."[23] Here it is mentioned for the first time quite clearly that Lang's house was being appointed by the chancellor himself to store the existing books of the Lithuanian Metrica (*na Metrykę kancelaryjej naszej wielkiej WKL*). Lang's house was at 4 Stiklių Street (fig. 13). In 1636, its appearance was as follows:

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20 M. Paknys, *Vilniaus miestas*, 104, no. 74.

21 Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic," appendix no. 1.

22 Lithuanian Metrica, Book 106, Lithuanian State History Archives, [accessed on microfilm kept at the Lithuanian State History Archives], col. 389, Lithuanian Metrica, notebook 106, p. 357–357v.

23 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 273–274; Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic," appendix no. 4.

> Jerzy Lang's house is under the jurisdiction of the city. On the ground floor, from the street side there is a room which has been dismantled and is being rebuilt. There is also a tavern room with a storage space, a small vestibule, and a kitchen. At the top there is a room without a tile stove. There is a spirits distillery, a warehouse, and a cellar. The yard is small, there is a barn above the warehouse, and a small stable for keeping two horses. The ruler's musician lived there at one time, but now it is vacant.[24]

The last privilege issued by Władysław Vasa was issued on December 13, 1636 once the ruler had already departed from Vilnius. The monarch and his court were then staying in Hrodno. This time, it was Vice-Chancellor Stefan Pac who enquired about keeping the Lithuanian Metrica books in the homes of Vilnius burghers. He asked the ruler to release the Vilnius burgher Grzegorz Kołzanowski from the duty of accommodating guests in his brick house that was known as Tomas (named after its earlier owner Marcin Tomasewicz), "for keeping the chancellery and acts and the minor Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [that is, the vice-chancellors' books—*D. A.*]." Władysław Vasa satisfied this request, wanting "that our chancellery affairs of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, both while we are in Vilnius and when are away, could be put into order as soon and as securely as possible there [in Kołzanowski's house—*D. A.*], along with the acts and the Metrica, as a suitable and safe place."[25] Kołzanowski's brick house stood at 11 Didžioji Street (fig. 14). In 1636, it had the following appearance:

> The brick house of Grzegorz Kołzanowski is under the jurisdiction of the city. Near the gate at one side there is a shop with a storehouse, further along towards the stairs there is a storage space, behind it is a space for a tavern, a spirits distillery, and a stable for keeping two horses. From the other side there is a shop with a small room and vestibule, two warehouses, a room with a storage space is opposite, and a small vestibule and kitchen. [Above] there is a room with its windows facing the yard, which has a small vestibule, kitchen, and storage space, while on the other side there are two rooms with storage spaces, a vestibule and kitchen, and at the end, upstairs, a small room. The administrator of Riga had stayed there earlier [Andrzej Stanisław

24 Paknys, *Vilniaus miestas*, 136, no. 260.

25 Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic," appendix no. 5.

Sapieha], and now, according to his duty [actually—based on his (current) office—*D. A.*], the regent of the minor chancellery of the GDL stayed there.[26]

Figure 13. *The building at 4 Stiklių Street in Vilnius. The books of the Lithuanian Metrica could have been kept here in the seventeenth century*. (Photograph by Romas Mičiūnas)

A privilege that had been issued by the Polish king and Lithuanian grand duke Jan Sobieski on November 15, 1684 in Lviv was recently discovered whereby the ruler, upon the request of Chancellor Marcjan Aleksander Ogiński (1632–1690), granted the right to be relieved from the duty of having to accommodate guests and look after the chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books to his secretary, the Spanish medical doctor, Christian Albert Perez (ca 1620–1689).[27] The need to keep the chancellors' books in the home of Perez was again declared using the same wording, "that our chancellery affairs, while we are in Vilnius, could be put into order as soon and as securely as possible, and in our absence, the mentioned chancellery acts could be kept in suitable, brick premises." Perez's house also stood on Stiklių Street, between the homes of Grzegorz Sienczyło and the goldsmith Józef Barczyński.[28]

26 Paknys, *Vilniaus miestas*, 103, no. 73.
27 Ragauskas, "Nauji duomenys," 24–27.
28 Lithuanian State History Archives, Old Acts, Bk. 5115, 323.

Figure 14. *The building at 11 Didžioji Street in Vilnius. The books of the Lithuanian Metrica could have been kept here in the seventeenth century.* (Photography by Romas Mičiūnas)

Of all the clauses cited in these privileges which mention the Lithuanian Metrica, it appears that the sentence formulae were almost all identical to the initial documents dating to June 3, 1629 and April 21, 1636. The declared need to look after the books of the Lithuanian Metrica almost appears to take a secondary role in all the documents; a larger part of the text in the privileges is set aside for a thorough description of the right of the building owners to be released from the duty to accommodate guests—a burden on burghers which interfered most with real estate property ownership rights. Some of the cited building descriptions from 1636 reveal how burghers could have received these privileges. The clearest example is the case of Kołzanowski. At the end of the description of his brick house, it is clearly stated that in the summer of 1636, the regent known as NN (an unidentified regent) of the so-called minor chancellery (i.e., the chancellery of Vice-Chancellor Stefan Pac) had stayed there. By December of that same year, the house's owner was already granted a privilege. There is almost no doubt that these two facts are directly related. We could easily guess that the house's owner made use of the opportunity and appealed to the mentioned deputy chancellery regent with his request to Vice-Chancellor Pac himself, asking the latter to mediate in acquiring the desired privilege from

the ruler. Today we can only guess just how much this "service" could have cost. Other cases would have probably unfolded in a similar manner.

Vilnius burghers could not escape the duty of accommodating guests under the guises of keeping the Lithuanian Metrica in their homes even when they were backed by a privilege from the ruler. The clearest example of this is the case heard in 1639–1640 concerning Jan Kluczata who received his privilege in 1636, and the *wojski* (tribune) of the Brest district (*powiat*), Aleksander Szuyski.[29] The latter violated Kluczata's rights by staying at his brick house on July 4, 1639. Kluczata brought him to trial before the Supreme Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which heard his case on July 30, 1639 and taking into consideration the fact that Szuyski stayed at Kluczata's house not of his own free will, but in accordance with serving his duties, as he had been appointed as one of the judges of the Supreme Tribunal that was convening in Vilnius at the time, and sought accommodation at one of the houses on the list issued by the Vilnius City Council intended for accommodating Supreme Tribunal judges, Szuyski was pardoned. Kluczata stood his ground and, probably thinking that his ruler's privilege was a "better right," complained over the Supreme Tribunal's verdict to the Court of Assessors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This court heard Kluczata's appeal in Warsaw on May 29, 1640, and, to the Vilnius burgher's surprise, stood in defense of Szuyski as it emerged that according to the Commonwealth sejm constitutions of 1589 and 1633, the plaintiff could not lodge an appeal against the verdict passed by the Supreme Tribunal. Thus, not only did Kluczata lose his appeal, he also experienced major financial losses, as the Court of Assessors ordered he pay a fine of 500 Polish złoty to Szuyski for lodging an unjustified appeal, and instructed the Vilnius magistrate to exact the sum from Kluczata's property; the court also allowed Szuyski to lodge a case against Kluczata for the direct damages he experienced and to reimburse his court expenses. The only "consolation" for the Vilnius burgher was that from then on, the court banned the Vilnius Council from accommodating any guests to the city in those houses that had been set aside for keeping the Lithuanian Metrica, otherwise it would face a fine from the ruler of 1,000 Polish złoty. Today we can only guess why three years after the issue of the privilege, in 1639, the Vilnius Council did not know that Kluczata's brick house had been excused from the duty

29 *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoiu arkheographicheskoiu komissieiu, vol. 13: Akty Glavnogo Litovskogo Tribunala* (Vilnius: Vilenskaia arkheographicheskaia komissiia, 1886), no. 27.

of accommodating guests back in 1636: Was it simply an oversight, misleading information, or actually a desire to exact harm? Thus far, we do not know whether Kluczata engaged in litigation separately with the Vilnius Council, who were actually to blame over the injustice he experienced.

In one way or another, the most important thing relating to the houses of Vilnius burghers that were relieved of the duty to accommodate guests is the question of how long the Lithuanian Metrica could have been kept there, and whether this was done at all? At first glance, there are hardly any grounds to doubt this, as we know from a similar case heard at the Court of Assessors in 1666 over the brick house of Kołzanowski, then already referred to by the name of its new owner Baranowicz, that probably in 1665 or some time earlier, the Trakai district treasurer Kazimierz Nieciszewski and his wife Anna Grobicka-Nieciszewska "without any (Vilnius City) Council or castle notices, forcibly and without restraint dared to seize (Baranowicz's brick house), broke down the doors to the rooms and cellars, commandeered the chests with the books and the Metrica, as well as various equipment and objects that were being safely stored there."[30] Evidence that the vice-chancellors' books were kept in Baranowicz's brick house in around 1665 is also clear from the fact that it was not the brick house's owner who lodged the appeal with the Court of Assessors over the event, but the vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the time, Aleksander Naruszewicz. So, it could appear that the vice-chancellors' Lithuanian Metrica books could have been kept in the so-called Kołzanowski house for a whole thirty years, that is, from the granting of the privilege at the end of 1636 until 1665. Yet this approach would be too simplistic. Let us first keep in mind the occupation of Vilnius from 1655 until 1662: If in the summer of 1655 the books of the Lithuanian Metrica would have been kept in the homes of Vilnius burghers, they would have simply been lost, just as the entire Vilnius City archive and numerous other document collections were lost. We should also draw our attention to the words used in the privilege of 1636, where the ruler was appointing the aforementioned Vilnius burghers' homes for storing the Lithuanian Metrica "whilst we are in Vilnius." Three out of five privileges were granted by Władysław Vasa, the Commonwealth ruler who resided in Vilnius the most often and for the longest duration. Some of the periods of residency of his court in Vilnius could last up to six months at a time, for example, in 1636. There is no doubt that at this time, the center

30 Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji kamienic," appendix no. 10, 304.

of political life not just in Lithuania but throughout the Commonwealth would move to the Lithuanian capital. This context does go some way towards explaining the desire of the chancellors and rulers "that the affairs of our chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania would be put into order as soon and as securely as possible, whilst we are in and when we are not in Vilnius." After all, most of the chancellors and vice-chancellors had brick houses or palaces in Vilnius themselves where the Lithuanian Metrica could have easily been kept; the vice-chancellors' books as of the mid-seventeenth century, when the collection amassed to no more than thirty or forty volumes, certainly would not have caused any problems with storage. The chancellors would hardly have been comfortable entrusting the books under their jurisdiction to burghers whose houses reeked of alcohol, as the building descriptions from 1636 show, where the voices of drunken citizens could constantly be heard and the self-will of the nobility was also problematic, as the cases from 1639 and 1666 testify; in terms of security, these were rather questionable premises. Keeping the books in the homes of Vilnius burghers appears to have depended completely on the will of chancellors: They could have for various reasons temporarily deposited the books under their jurisdiction when they arrived in the Lithuanian capital with the ruler's court or privately, and had them returned when they wanted.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, when the rulers of the Commonwealth no longer visited Vilnius and with the center of the Commonwealth's political life having transferred to Warsaw, any longer term storage of the Metrica in the homes of Vilnius burghers would have been problematic. The renewal of the privilege of 1636 before the early eighteenth century (the last known confirmation was issued in 1697)[31] is more of a reflection of the goal of Vilnius burghers to retain their acquired right to be relieved of having to accommodate guests, under the guises of keeping the Metrica books at their homes, rather than the actual fact of providing long-term storage facilities for the books. As new sources are discovered, this is a topic in the history of the Lithuanian Metrica that is worthy of further research.

31 Ibid., appendix no. 13.

Chapter 8

The Eighteenth Century—a Time of Journeys: The Lithuanian Metrica between Vilnius, Warsaw, and Saint Petersburg

The history of the Lithuanian Metrica in the eighteenth century is a story of the archive's constant mobility, and one that is still cloaked in many unanswered questions. If we had to use one word to describe the existence of the Lithuanian Metrica during this century of change, it would have to be "journeys." Over the course of close to a hundred years, the archive of the Lithuanian state was loaded onto wagons several times and transported from one city to another, from one state to another, until in the last decade of the century, when the Russian Empire occupied the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was abolished, in 1795 it was finally loaded onto ships in Riga sailing for Saint Petersburg.

Circumstances for the Archive's Removal from Vilnius

The journeys of the Lithuanian archive began in the first half of the century, when the Lithuanian Metrica was taken from Vilnius to Warsaw. However,

not even today are the reasons for this transfer very clear, nor are the details concerning how the archive was transported. One of the first researchers of the history of the Lithuanian state archive, the *metrykant* Ptaszycki, stated in the late nineteenth century that the Lithuanian Metrica was taken from Vilnius to Warsaw in around 1765, when the Polish Crown archive was transferred out of Kraków.[1] However, upon finding an entry made in the Lithuanian Metrica Book of Inscriptions 178 by secretary Felix Stanisław Owsiany, declaring that "These acts from the metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, completed on July 6, 1751, were transferred by myself, the undersigned, to the metrica archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in Warsaw," Ptaszycki noted that the archive could have been taken to Warsaw no later than in the second half of 1751.[2] He set an even more specific date for the archive's transferal to Warsaw when he analyzed the summary of the Lithuanian Metrica books compiled in 1747–1751. In the researcher's opinion, this register was drawn up when the archive was already in Warsaw.[3]

Researchers of the Metrica's history, I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and P. Kennedy Grimsted, also asserted that the Lithuanian state archive was taken to Warsaw in the mid-1740s. It was at this time that a commission for reviewing and describing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Metrica archives was formed.[4] The date of the transfer is often presented vaguely in Lithuanian historiography, indicating that the Lithuanian Metrica was removed from Vilnius "in the first half of the eighteenth century,"[5] or stating that "before 1765, many of the surviving books had been taken to Warsaw and kept with the Polish (Crown) Metrica."[6]

The circumstances under which the archive was removed have not received further analysis in historiography. Lacking any primary sources, only hypothetical guesses can be made that the decision to move the state archive from Vilnius to Warsaw could have been determined by the need to

1 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 12.

2 "Te akta metryki W. X. L. die 6 Iulii anno 1751 zakończone, przezemnie niżey podpisanego ad archiwum metryk W. X. L. w Warszawie będących oddane – Owsiany," ibid., 277.

3 Ptaszycki, "Sumariusz i inwentarze Metryki Litewskiej," 33.

4 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica*," 14; Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 93.

5 Z. Kiaupa, "Lietuvos Metrika—Lietuvos bajorų rūpestis XVIII a. pabaigoje," in *Lietuvos Metrika: 1991–1996 metų tyrinėjimai* (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1998), 193–202.

6 E. Gudavičius, „Lietuvos Metrika," in *Tarybų Lietuvos enciklopedija*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Vyriausioji enciklopedijų redakcija, 1986), 585.

protect it from mounting danger, to simplify the search for necessary documents in this archive for state officials residing in Warsaw, or perhaps the initiative to put into order and systematize the archives of both Commonwealth states—the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—arose within the court of the king and grand duke, Augustus III (1733–1763).

Sources show that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Lithuanian Metrica could have been kept in Vilnius, in a brick house that stood on the Fish Market (*Rybny Koniec*) Square near the Orthodox Church of the Resurrection (*Voskresenskaya*) (now the corner of Stiklių and Didžioji streets), which belonged to the heirs of the nobleman Dawid Packiewicz.[7] Rulers' privileges granted back in the late sixteenth century that were later renewed relieved this house from the duty to serve as a residence for state institution officials. Those ignoring these requirements would have to face legal repercussions, such as what happened to the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal deputy from the Mstislavl palatinate Jerzy Antoni Suchodolski who arrived in Vilnius in early 1712 and stayed at the mentioned Packiewicz house. The Tribunal deputy's status did not stop Suchodolski from being evicted: On April 16, 1712 the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal reached a verdict to evict him from the mentioned "Packiewicz brick house, that once belonged to Kluczata."[8] The court verdict rested on the privilege of Sigismund Vasa of January 4, 1588 and the later decree of Władysław Vasa, whereby the Packiewicz house was relieved of "any duty to accommodate Tribunal deputies and was set aside for the storage of the metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania exclusively."[9] There is insufficient data to determine exactly whether the Lithuanian Metrica documents were physically placed in the brick house belonging to Kluczata in April, 1712, or, as according to the hypothesis of Darius Antanavičius, could have been removed from the city at the will of the chancellors. Nonetheless, if the archive remained in Vilnius, we could believe that it remained in this brick house owned by the Packiewiczs throughout the entire period of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) and survived the rampancy of the Russian army that had occupied the Lithuanian capital at the end of January, 1734, during which the Vilnius Cathedral was plundered and liturgical accessories were looted from churches.[10]

7 Ptaszycki, "Sumariusz i inwentarze Metryki Litewskiej," 34.

8 Łowmiańska, "Dokumenty do historji," 310.

9 Ibid., 310–311.

10 F. Sliesoriūnas, "Mūšis prie Vilniaus ir miesto nusiaubimas 1734 metais," in *Lietuva ir jos kaimynai. Nuo normanų iki Napoleono*, ed. I. Valikonytė et al. (Vilnius: Vaga, 2001), 320.

Interestingly, at the sejmiks where the Vilnius nobility assembled in the first half of the eighteenth century, no issues regarding the Lithuanian Metrica were ever raised, instead, they focused more on the storage of the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal archive. The instructions for deputies of the Vilnius sejmik of 1718 outlined that at the sejm, they were meant to demand the allocation of premises in the castle for keeping the Tribunal and Vilnius palatinate court archives, or that they would be transferred to the Vilnius town hall. This demand was repeated in the instructions of 1724.[11]

Historical sources also do not reveal whether the Lithuanian Metrica archive suffered damage during the fires that raged through Vilnius in the 1720s–1740s. It is likely that the removal of the Metrica to Warsaw saved it from possible destruction during the fire of June 11, 1748.

> That time, the fire that broke out in Užupis crossed over to the left bank of the Vilnia River, into the so-called "Russian" part of the city, and spread into the south, west, and north. The fire destroyed 469 brick houses and courtyards, twelve Catholic and Orthodox churches, fifteen palaces, and numerous other smaller buildings: the Holy Savior's Gate and bridge across the Vilnia, St. Nicholas's Orthodox Church, Castle Gate, the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal court building, St. John's Church, the Jesuit monastery and academy, the Orthodox Church of the Resurrection (Voskresenskaya), the Dominican church of the Holy Spirit and the church of the Holy Trinity, the Piarist monastery, two Jewish synagogues and a library, a Lutheran church with utility buildings, etc. [12]

Nonetheless, the only known fact that allows confirming that the Lithuanian Metrica acts were already in Warsaw in the 1740s is the audit of the archive books conducted in 1747–1751. The archive must have been transported to Warsaw before the audit commenced.

Research by the Belarusian historian Aleksandr Dounar has revealed that the audit of the Lithuanian Metrica books in late 1746 was initiated by Chancellor J. F. Sapieha (1680–1751 [fig. 15]) and Vice-Chancellor

11 R. Jurgaitis, "*Vilniaus seimelio veikla 1717–1795 m.*" PhD diss., Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2007, 89–90.

12 B. B. Jachimowicz, Relacya o straszliwym upadku Stolecznego miasta Wilenskiego [. . .] funditus spalonego [. . .] dnia 11 Junii Roku Panskiego 1748 i Swiatło okropne w przerażliwym wszystkich serca przeniknieniu przez zawzięty pożar, nienagrodzone klęski i szkody miasta Wileńskiego [. . .] roku 1749, dnia 8 junii [. . .], quoted in M. Baliński, *Dawna akademia Wileńska. Proba jej historii od założenia w roku 1579 do ostatecznego jej przekształcenia w roku 1803* (Petersburg: J. Ohryzka, 1862), 469–481.

M. F. Czartoryski (1696–1775).[13] These "gracious ministers of the seals of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, senators, and noble dignitaries", seeing the "acts of the Lithuanian Metrica so scattered, which not only had to be rebound, also had to be audited so that each act would be registered, making it easier for the citizens of the GDL to find [documents] in this Metrica,"[14] and for this purpose secured funding from the king, Augustus III. On December 7, 1746 Augustus III signed an assignation for 4,000 gold złoty for putting the archive into order. The money had to be paid out from the Lithuanian treasury in instalments.[15]

Figure 15. *Chancellor Jan Fryderyk Sapieha (1680–1751), Lithuanian Art Museum.* (Painted by Augustyn Mirys)

The audit of the Lithuanian Metrica acts in 1747–1751 took place under the command of the chancellor and vice-chancellors, and was

13 Dounar, "Da pytannia ab revizii," 136.

14 Ibid., 136: "iż dawniejsze akta Metryki WXLo in summo zostają disordine, gdy tedy nie tylko introligowa de nowo potrzeba, ale też generalną onych że uczyni rewizją dla zregestrowania omnium actuum, aby odtąd łatwiejsza wszystkim obywatelom WXLo bydź mogla w tej Metryce kwerenda et desideriorum satisfactio."

15 Ibid., 134–137.

carried out by two appointed commissars—the Šuneliškės administrator Jan Chrapowicki (*starosta szuneliszki*) and the regent of the minor chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Livonian master of the camp (Latin *magister carraginis;* Polish *oboźny*), Jan Szadurski.[16] The commissars were assisted by the secretary of His Royal Grace and secretary of the major seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Valkavysk cupbearer *(*Latin *pincerna;* Polish *cześnik*) F. S. Owsiany. A register of the Metrica books of the minor chancellery (vice-chancellors' books) had already been compiled on May 4, 1747, which, confirming with their signatures, both commissars passed over "into the hands of his grace, Józef Mikłaszewicz, the secretary of his royal grace and *metrykant* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania."[17]

During the audit, a summary of the books was prepared and the old books of the major and minor chancelleries were also rebound.[18] The vice-chancellors' books were separated from the chancellors' books and given letters instead of numbers.

The revision of the Lithuanian Metrica acts, much like its systematization, reflected the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment that were making their way into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and was also related to the maturing ideas of the Commonwealth's ruling elite at the time about government and legal system reforms. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the systematization and management of the archival documents, the publication of digests of passed laws in separate books or legal anthologies, and the release of international treaties was one of the phenomena encouraged by the ideas of the Enlightenment. Naturally, the archives of both Poland and Lithuania also drew greater attention. Besides the practical goals of simplifying the search for document in the archive by systematizing its contents and compiling new digests, a new goal started being implemented in the second quarter of the eighteenth century—the systematized publication of document anthologies in order to not only inform society about the laws being passed, but to also foster a sense of historical self-awareness among the citizens. In 1732–1739, the Kiev bishop Józef Andrzej Załuski saw to the publication of the first six volumes of the anthology of Poland's and Lithuania's

16 E. Orman-Michta, "Szadurski Jan," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 46 (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN im. Tadeusza Manteuffla, 2010), 390.

17 "do Rąk Im Pan Jozefa Mikłaszewicza Sekretarza Jo KMci Metrykanta W-o Xwa Litt-o z Podpisem Rąk naszych Podany Roku 1747 Miesiąca Maja Dnia 4," Ptaszycki, "Sumariusz i inwentarze Metryki Litewskiej," 39.

18 Dounar, "Da pytannia ab revizii," 136; Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 95; Jakubowski, "Wiadomości o świeżo," 216.

state laws *Volumina Legum. Leges, statuta, constitutiones et privilegia Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*, which were compiled by the Piarist Stanisław Konarski. This anthology included documents from 1347 to 1739.

Interestingly, both Lithuanian ministers of the seals—J. F. Sapieha who raised the idea of a reform of the tribunals,[19] and M. F. Czartoryski, the leader of the Familia,[20] who supported the reform of the state's governance—were associated with the research and publication of archival documents. J. F. Sapieha, who held the office of chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1735, was especially interested in history and genealogy. He had amassed an enormous library of books and documents at his favorite residence in Kodeń, while in 1745–1747 he published two volumes of *Suada latina seu miscellanea* under the name of his personal secretary Jan Ostrowski-Daneykowicz, where he incorporated documents and letters related to eminent figures of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[21] According to Zofia Zielińska, in 1747 J. F. Sapieha intended to begin the systematic publication of political treaties, alas, he ran out of time to realize this idea.[22] It is an interesting coincidence that the year 1747 happens to be associated with the removal of the Lithuanian Metrica from Vilnius, where the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania practically never resided.

At the same time, Vice-Chancellor Czartoryski supported another initiator for the collection and systematization of historical sources—a member of the intellectual elite from the reign of Augustus III, the future Vilnius Piarist College rector Maciej Dogiel (1715–1760), who was determined to publish an anthology of Poland's and Lithuania's treaties with foreign states (fig. 16). Dogiel justified the necessity of compiling a codex of Polish and Lithuanian diplomacy both for the existence of this tradition in foreign states, the importance of this kind of work to science, and on its necessity in educating diplomats working in the field of diplomacy. With the mediation of Czartoryski,

19 M. Wyszomirska, *Między obroną wolności a naprawą państwa. Rzeczpospolita jako przedmiot polemik politycznych w dobie panowania Augusta III (1734–1763)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictvo DiG, 2010), 246–247.

20 The Familia ("The Family," from the Latin *familia*) was the political faction of nobility led by the House of Czartoryski and allied families. The Familia's principal leaders were Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski, Chancellor of Lithuania, and his brother August Aleksander Czartoryski, Voivode of Ruthenia (Rus').

21 *Swada Polska y Łacinska Albo Miscellanea Oratorskie Seymowe, Wesselne, Kancellaryine, Listowne [. . .] Przez J. Ostrowskiego-Daneykowicza [. . .] Zebrane, Na Dwa Tomy, to Jest Polski, y Łaciński Podzielone* [Lublin: w Druk. J. K. M. Coll. Soc. Jesu], 1745–1747].

22 Z. Zielińska, "Sapieha Jan Fryderyk," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 35 (Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1994), 12–16.

Dogiel presented the idea of publishing his document anthology to the ruler, Augustus III, and receiving financial backing and the title of "Commonwealth and Senate envoy", in 1748 he began to collect material for his publication—firstly abroad, in France, the Netherlands, and the German lands, and from 1751—in the Polish Crown Metrica, the Lithuanian Metrica archive, the treasury of the Kingdom of Poland in Wawel Castle, the archive of the Lithuanian pantler (Latin *dapifer;* Polish *stolnik*) Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski in Lachowicze, the Radziwiłł archive in Nesvyzh, and elsewhere.[23]

Figure 16. *Rector of the Vilnius Piarist College Maciej Dogiel (1715–1760), Lithuanian Art Museum. (Painted by Antoine Maurin, 1850)*

Dogiel could retrieve the required document copies from the Lithuanian Metrica archive because he was under the protection of Czartoryski, who had taken over the office of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the time. The work was crowned by the release in 1758 of the first volume of the Codex of Acts of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*). That same year, Dogiel also released the first history of the borders of Poland and Lithuania—a document anthology called *Limites Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*.[24]

23 More: J. Kurkowski, "Z dziejów polskiego edytorstwa źrodeł historycznych. Maciej Dogiel (1715–1760)," *Analecta* 15 (2006): 1–2, 104–106.

24 W. Konopczyński, "Dogiel Maciej," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 5 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1939–1946), 281.

The fact that Dogiel referred to documents from the Lithuanian Metrica archive that was then in Warsaw is evident from provenances of copies entered near the inscription "From the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" (*Ex Archivo Magni Ducatus Litvaniae*) and the author's own explanation in the preface:

> In the Kingdom of Poland there is [. . .] the Kingdom's Major [major chancellery] and Minor [minor chancellery] metrica, and the Major [major chancellery] and Minor [minor chancellery] metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, accordingly, one is kept in the Kingdom's archive, the other—in the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[25]

If we return to the circumstances behind the removal of the Lithuanian Metrica from Vilnius, we could say that one of the reasons for moving the archive to Warsaw was the goal of the ruling elite to conduct an audit of the state documentary legacy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to systematize the scattered archival documents and to create the conditions for society to be able to make effective use of both the Polish Crown and Lithuanian Metrica archives. The Crown Metrica would have been checked at a similar time as the audit of the Lithuanian Metrica was taking place. In addition, according to the resolution of the Senate council in 1748, the Crown treasury scribe Celestyn Zapolski was sent to check the treasury of the Kingdom of Poland at Wawel Castle. Nonetheless, putting the Metrica of the Kingdom of Poland into order and systematizing its contents did take some time—*metrykant* Ignacy Nowicki only prepared a register of the Books of Public Affairs of the Crown Metrica in 1760–1761.[26]

Note that not all efforts to concentrate documents belonging to the state archive in one location were successful. Documents that had found their way into the Radziwiłł archive in Nesvyzh were not returned into the composition of the Lithuanian Metrica, and some of them, such as the book from 1667–1668 from the chancellery of A. Naruszewicz and M. K. Radziwiłł were not included into the register of books of the Lithuanian Metrica at all.[27] Quite the opposite. At the sejm of 1768, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł

25 "in Regno Poloniae sunt [. . .] Metrica Maior et Minor Regni, Metrica Maior et Minor Magni Ducatus Litvaniae, quarum illae Archivi Regni, hae Archivi Magni Ducatus Litvaniae nomine apellantur." Cited from Kurkowski, "Z dziejów," 121.

26 From Daniłowicz's Preface, *Kniga Posol'skaia*, XVII.

27 Cf. A. Rachuba, "Księga Metryki Litewskiej w zbiorze Litewskiej Akademii Nauk w Wilnie," in *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijos šaltiniai. Faktas. Kontekstas. Interpretacija*, 180–181.

called "Panie Kochanku" ("My Dear Sir"), and even managed to secure a constitution granting the Nesvyzh branch of the Radziwiłłs the right to keep documents of state importance at their family archive.[28] And even though the marshal of the sejm confederation at the time, K. S. Radziwiłł, was obliged to prepare copies of all the privileges within one year, and to return them to the Crown and Lithuanian metricas via his authorized representatives and was not permitted to demand any reimbursement from the chancelleries,[29] he did not carry through with this promise.

Criminal stories shrouded the fate of certain Lithuanian Metrica documents in the middle of the eighteenth century. This happened with to the Brest and Kobryn economic domain book compiled by the auditor Dmytri Sapieha during the reign of Sigismund Augustus. It was meant to be kept with the other Lithuanian Metrica acts, however Chancellor J. F. Sapieha took it from the state archive, taking it back to his personal Kodeń archive. In the words of Marcin Matuszewicz, Chancellor J. F. Sapieha would issue the necessary extracts from this book to the parties involved in the court proceedings and certify them with his seal.[30] After the chancellor's death, Karol Wieszczycki, the Brest castle deputy elder who managed to earn the trust of the chancellor's widow, Constance Radziwiłł Sapieha, and becoming the manager of the Kodeń archive, stole this Brest and Kobryn economic domain book. He transferred the important property-related document to the manager of the Lithuanian royal economies, the great treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Jan Jerzy Detlov Fleming. Patron Fleming rewarded his client Wieszczycki for this achievement with the position of deputy administrator of the Brest castle.[31]

Regardless of these mentioned cases, the prime purpose for removing the Lithuanian Metrica to Warsaw—to check and systematize the documents—was at least partially realized in the 1740s–1750s. However, the declared goal of "simplifying searching [for documents] in that Metrica for all citizens of the GDL" was not achieved—the Lithuanian nobility's opportunities to procure copies of their desired documents from the state archive

28 Kurkowski, "Z dziejów," 139.

29 "Utwierdzenie przywileju OO. Xiężętom Radziwiłłom pro conservatione nadanych praw, wolności, dyplomatow, y przywilejow W. X. Litewsk. służących," *Volumina Legum*, vol. 7 (Petersburg: J. Ohryzka, 1860), 399–400.

30 M. Matuszewicz, *Diariusz życia mego*, vol. 1 (1714–1757), ed. B. Krolikowski, commentaries by Z. Zielińska (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1986), 370.

31 Ibid., 370–371; A. Tłomacki, *Sapiehowie* (Warszawa: Mada, 1996), 90–91.

now in Warsaw grew even more limited. It was no wonder that already in July, 1750 the Mozyr district (*powiat*) *wojski* (Latin *tribunus*), Michał Jeleński, asked his patron, Chancellor J. F. Sapieha, for assistance and mediation in the metricas, searching for the necessary privileges regarding the Jakimowicz domains.[32]

The Lithuanian Metrica in Warsaw: The Archive's Condition and Efforts to Improve It

One could think that the Metrica archive must have been only temporarily removed to Warsaw. This was exactly how the Lithuanian nobility perceived this stage, who, four decades after the archive's removal, explained their understanding of the situation:

> Most at risk are those properties that do not have their documents at hand to counter any threat. The entire provincial area in Lithuania is precisely in this unfortunate state, whose inheritance documents, the Lithuanian archive metrica, and all sorts of post-Jesuit property inheritance contracts and court case material **has been taken to the Crown temporarily, but where it appears to have stalled for all time, and whose management has passed over into the hands of citizens of the Crown** [highlighted by the author—*R. Š.-S.*]. Hardly a local citizen has escaped the disappointment of significant expenses for this reason, whilst trying to receive the necessary documents.[33]

32 "[. . .] dla pewneyszey wiadomosci upraszam Jasnie Wielmoznego Pana Dobrodzieia kazac obaczyc w metrykach przywileiu terzniejszego JmP Kamerdinskiemu na Jakimowiczę konferowanego," July 11, 1750, Vilnius. Letter from the Mozyr *wojski* Michał Jeleński to the Lithuanian chancellor Jan Fryderyk Sapieha, *Archiwum Państwowe na Wawelu*, Archiwum młynowskie Chodkiewiczów, no. 1007, 462. I sincerely thank my colleague Dr Domininkas Burba who gave me a copy of this document.

33 "Najniebezpieczniejszy jest stan tych dobr, ktore na obronę wszelkich przypadkow in fundo nieznajdują służących sobie dokumentow. Właśnie tej niedoli doświadcza cała Prowincja Litewska, ktorej dziedziczne dokumenta Metryki archiwum litewskie i wszelkie na dobra pojezuickie dziedziczne tranzakcyje i processa prawne z przypadku do Korony uwiezione, na zawsze tam wklęsły, i pod rząd obywatelow koronnych oddane zostały. Rzadki obywatel nie doznał przykrości większego ekspensu w staraniu się i wyjmowaniu potrzebnych dokumentow," November 16, 1790. Hrodno sejmik instruction. Cited from Kiaupa, "Lietuvos Metrika," 197. Instruction published in *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės seimelių instrukcijos (1788–1790),* ed. R. Jurgaitis, A. Stankevič and A. Verbickienė (Vilnius: Mykolo Riomerio universitetas, 2015), 131.

However, if the removal of the archive was a cause of inconvenience for the Lithuanian nobility, then the storage of the Lithuanian Metrica documents in Warsaw made things much easier for central state institution officials. An example of this was problem concerning the demarcation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's border with the Russian Empire, which arose in 1775 due to an inconsistency between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's eastern palatinate boundaries that were recorded between the First Partition and those that existed in reality.[34] When trying to ascertain the actual boundaries of the Vitebsk palatinate and the Orsha district, commissars from the demarcation commission were issued with orders to find descriptions of these territories among the documents of the Lithuanian Metrica.[35] Members of the Permanent Council who had a more in-depth knowledge of the extracts from the Lithuanian Metrica books presented to them, where it was indicated that documents provided by the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania regarding the boundaries of the Vitebsk palatinate and the Orsha district included only a summary from 1563, where the boundary of the Orsha district went from the Berezina River to the Dnieper, and "beyond the Dnieper, across Chachersk, Propoysk, Krychaw, and Mogilev as far as the Mstislavl border, and along the Mstislavl border until the border with Smolensk,"[36] decided not to raise any additional special requirements with Russia regarding the border's demarcation.

34 For more details, see: R. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, "Abiejų Tautų Respublikos sienos su Rusija demarkavimo problemos 1774–1775 metais," *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis. 2005 metai.* 2 (2006): 53–68.

35 "Z okolicznosci zagrozenia JmP Generała Kreczetnikowa, Produkowane są in Consilio Granice Wdztw Witepskiego y Powiatu Orszanskiego z Metryk WXLitt wyięte, et in Archivo Conselij złożone," Protocol of the Permanent Council, June 23, 1775, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, f. Tzw. Metryka Litewska, dz. VII, nr. 14, l. 85.

36 Extrakt z Metryki kancellaryi W. Litt. Granice Wdztwa Witebskiego y Powiatu Orszanskiego zawieraiące, Appendices to the Permanent Council's protocol of ongoing affairs, June and July, 1775 [Annexa do Protokułu Potocznego Rady Nieustaiącey Anni 1775 Mensis Junij et Julij], ibid., dz. VII, nr. 70, l. 158: "Hranica Orszanska. Poczawszy od hranicy lubawickoie hranicoiu dawnoiu witebskoiu zaymuiuczy Sudilowiczy Weretem Szlo na prostey ku Diwinu u Worszanski powiat ku hranicy Mezewskoy, od tol Kozeczynskim y Paszkowskim hranicu szlo na prostey ku rzychabam, Prychaby ku Orszy, a Stecewo y Wieloje Selo ku Witebsku, od tol ku hranicy Oboleckoy Zostawniuszy Obolca y Lemnicu, Bielicu ku Orszy do hranicy kniazey Lukomskich y wes Lukoml ku Orszy iako hranica Leplu Napisana, az do Berezyny, Berezynciu wniz do Bychowskoie hranicy u Dniepr, a czerez Dniepr hranica Czeczersku y Propoysku, Kryczowu z Mohilewom u Mstislawskuiu hranicu, a Mstislawskuiu hranicoiu az w hranicu Smolenskuiu a Smolenskuiu hranicoiu az do Lubawicze . . . "

A resolution along these lines was passed at a meeting of the Permanent Council on July 11, 1775.[37]

Note that the audit of the Lithuanian Metrica acts conducted upon the order of Chancellor J. F. Sapieha and Vice-Chancellor M. F. Czartoryski in the middle of the eighteenth century did not ensure the proper storage of the archive. Even several decades after it had been transferred to Warsaw, the archive was still in a pitiful condition. Lithuania's magnates and nobility tried to put the archive into order, to have it moved into premises where it could be suitably stored, or even to have it returned to the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius. The Upytė and Trakai sejmik instructions from 1786 demanded that the archives of the Lithuanian Metrica intended for Lithuanian provincial areas would be handled by Lithuanian representatives and returned to Vilnius.[38]

During the Saxon period of reign, matters regarding the handling of the Metrica were raised by grand and vice-chancellors, while during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the Permanent Council, the highest body of executive government in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth founded in 1775, also became involved. An analysis of Permanent Council meeting protocols shows that already from the end of the 1770s, questions regarding the Metrica were already being discussed at the Council plenum and within its departments, while the management of the state archive took place under the control of this institution.

The earliest known information about efforts to put the Lithuanian Metrica archive into order during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski goes back to January, 1777 when the Permanent Council's resolution to have the king's cabinet secretary, the well-known poet and Russian language translator Antoni Korwin Kossakowski (1718–1786),[39] rewrite the documents of the Metrica that were in Cyrillic script into Latin.[40] Thus, in the

37 Permanent Council's protocol of ongoing affairs, 1775, ibid., dz. VII, nr. 14, l. 101.

38 Kiaupa, "Lietuvos Metrika," 198.

39 E. Aleksandrowska, "Kossakowski Antoni h. Ślepowron," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 14 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1968–1969), 261–262.

40 Incidentally, in the historiography on this theme, the Lithuanian Metrica research secretary and translator Antoni Kossakowski has mistakenly been held as the brother of the Livonian bishop Jozef Kazimierz and hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Szymon Marcin Kossakowski, the castellan of Livonia, Antoni Kossakowski (1735–1798), who has nothing in common with these archives: See A. Dziarnovich, "Plach na Vialikim Kniastve (da gistoryi transliteratsyi Metryki VKL u 1777–1780-kh gadakh)," in *Metriciana: Dasledavannia i materyialy Metryki Vialikaga Kniastva Litowskaga* (Minsk: Athenaeum, 2003), vol. 2, 33–54.

1770s, the task of responsibly and carefully rewriting the documents was given to the chancellery translator of the Permanent Council's Department of Foreign Affairs, who had an excellent knowledge of Ruthenian and Russian,[41] a literary figure from the circle of Bishop Adam Naruszewicz who had already earned fame for the translation and publication of Description of the State of Muscovy (*Opisanie Państwa Moskiewskiego*, Warszawa, 1768).[42] The chancellery work group under the command of Kossakowski started to rewrite the Metrica on June 13, 1777, as Kossakowski's entry on the title page of the first transcribed Lithuanian Metrica book declared.[43] As befits a writer, Kossakowski appealed to future generations, the king and the Permanent Council in a poetic way, giving an outline of the state's history and wishing Stanisław August and the Permanent Council a long term in power, a tenure that future generations would remember and laud:

> O, ye Ages! O, ye Times! Where art thou! What can make you turn back! Who shall laud thee! How sweet to remember you!
>
> This is what I wish you for eternity, Your Royal Highness, supported by the illustrious Council consisting of the most eminent citizens and wisest men, united and held accountable by the desire for universal welfare.
>
> Men's minds are different, [as are their] biases, thoughts, behaviors, revelry, and benevolence. I, having felt the taste [of past events], appreciate [the grandeur of] that eternal Past as much as I can, those times when our nation's Kings, always having a Council at hand, did all of this themselves: powerful, wise, gracious, benefiting and just to future [generations], ensuring security and equality, or [conversely], threatening the powers of neighboring countries. O, Vytautas! O, Jogaila!
>
> O, Žygimantas! Casimir! Alexander! Behold, Your Times and of the states that surrounded You!
>
> O, Abdullah Mengli Giray, Eminek, Murtoza, Amir, Yaghmurcha, Abu'l-Khayr, Sheikh Ahmed, Tevkel (Tjuvikel')! The khans, tsars, and dukes of Perekop, Nogai, the Middle Volga, Astrakhan, Kasimov! O, Stephen of Wallachia! And others who then shared common borders! At times, they were good and peaceful neighbors, at others, vassals of our Kings and Nation, tribute givers, asking for help in reclaiming your inheritable domains, or

41 Antoni Kossakowski held this office from 1775 until 1784.

42 Kossakowski also translated the comedy written by the Russian empress Catherine II, *The Cheat*, which was never released (Katarzyna II, carowa rosyjska, *Komedia "Oszukaniec,"* 1786), E. Aleksandrowska, "Kossakowski," 261.

43 For a publication of the entry, see: Dziarnovich, "Plach," 46–54.

> begging for refuge, sometimes invited to defend our Land with your pupils and armies, bravely fighting, and tying your wearied horses by the defeated tents of the enemies! You are witnesses of the ashes of government, now mixed with the earth, the might of the sharp Polish sword, alas, that is but the past: O, Times! Who am I to say! Much has been written, [however] there is much yet to write. I bring to thee, Your Royal Highness and Most Illustrious Permanent Council, my initial work for review. It is dull, it will be long, requiring a lot of space, time, and diligence. And because I am yearning with the desire to see this task through to the end, without self-praise, I inform you of my intention.[44]

Kossakowski was absolutely correct regarding the scale of work involved in putting the archive into order in his introduction—a long, tiring task requiring great care awaited. According to the numbering at the time, books 1–66 of the Lithuanian Metrica were rewritten in 1777, yet with some exceptions: Book 54 (or according to the current numeration, Book 13), 60 (235), 64 (236), and 2, which was a copy of Book 16 never ended up being transcribed into Latin.[45] Over the course of several tense years of

44 "O! Wieki! O! Czasy! Gdzie sąśćie! Kto was powroci! Kto was ośpiewa! Jak słodkie wasze wspomnienie! Jakiego ja Waszej Krolewskiej Mości, y rodowitością, ktorą jednoczy, upoważnia zgodna miłość dobra powszechnego Świetnym Obywatelom, Prześwietną te Radę składających, najroztropniejszym Mężom, po najdłuższym opatrznie od onej wspieranym panowaniu, winienem bez końca życzy. Ludzkie umysły rozliczne, skłonności ważenia, zabawy, czynienia, upodobania. Ja, zasmakowałem nader, rozpływam się, w cenieniu. Tej nieśmiertelnej Przeszłości, tych Czasow, w ktore Krolowie Narodu naszego, mając wszędy, nieodstępne boku swojego Rady, tom wszystko czynili Sami: Co mocny, roztropny, łagodny, pożyteczny, czyli na przyszłość, sprawiedliwy, bezpieczny, rowny, albo, straszny, y ukazujący sąsiedzkim Mocom, rząd składa. O! Witoldzie! O! Jagiełło! O! Zygmuncie! Kazimierzu! Alexandrze! O! Wasze, y okolnych z Państwy Waszymi, Czasy! O! Abdułłach Mendligierej Aminiak, Murtazy, jemir, jamgurczy, Abłungierym, Szyhahmet, Tywikiel! Perekopscy, Nahayscy, Zawolgscy, Astrachanscy, Kasimowscy chańscy Carowie, Xiązęta! O! Woloszczy Stefanowie! I inni, w te Wieki graniczący! Raz dobrzy y spokojni sąsiedzi, raz Krolow y narodu naszego dannicy, hołdownicy, o pomoc przywrocenie do dziedzictw swoich: O przytułek, wspomożenie zasilenie, błagający, raź na obronę Kraju naszego, z Uczniami, Wojskami wywołani, walczący, u potne swoje konie w pobitych nieprzyjacioł namiotach uwiązujący! Wy Świadkowie cho wzmiesznych z Ziemią popiołach rządu, potęgi ostrości Szabli Polskiej, ale to już przeszło: O! Czasy! Co ja! Wiele o tym napisano: zostaje wiele wiele nienapisanego. Ja W. K. Mści y Prześwietnej Jego Nieustającej Radzie, do widzenia, tę początkową pracę przynoszę, jest ona poniekąd nudna, będzie długa, potrzebująca miejsca, ciągu y pilności. Abym więc cho mam ochotę, one do skutku przywiodł y już sobie nie podchlebiam, y o tym donoszę . . . ," see ibid., 50–51.

45 Dziarnovich, "Inventar'," 262.

work, twenty-nine volumes of books were written up based on sixty-two of the old Metrica books,[46] which are now kept in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (see chapter 9).

Taking care of the archives was not limited to the rewriting of the books. It was also important to find suitable premises for keeping the Lithuanian Metrica books. The Permanent Council plenum of March 29, 1778 ordered the Commonwealth's Treasury Department to form a special delegation to select a space for the Lithuanian Metrica books. Just a few days later, on April 2, this matter was discussed at a session of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's Treasury Department, with a delegation of members of the department going to the Commonwealth Palace where the archive was meant to be kept.[47] However, the archive was not transferred to safer premises for another few years yet. It is difficult to give the reason for the fateful delay, and to know in what kinds of premises the archive was kept until its transfer to the Commonwealth Palace. Protocols of the Permanent Council show that six years later, that is, in 1786, at the initiative of Chancellor A. M. Sapieha (1730–1793), Vice-Chancellor J. L. Chreptowicz (1729–1812) and the great notary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and secretary of the Permanent Council A. Naruszewicz (1733–1796), the king, Stanisław August Poniatowski issued instructions to commence proper management "of the hitherto unattended and scattered books of the Lithuanian Metrica kept in damp conditions."[48] The Lithuanian archive was finally moved to safer and more suitable premises in the Commonwealth Palace (the former Krasiński Palace, acquired from its previous owners for the Crown treasury archive back in 1765).[49]

The king's *metrykant* Grzegorz Kaczanowski (ca 1760–after 1803), who held this office from 1786 until 1794, commanded the task of putting the Lithuanian Metrica into order in 1786–1787.[50] He had the Metrica books

46 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 12; see also Daniłowicz's Preface in *Kniga posol'skaia*, XVIII.

47 Session 29, Protocol of the Permanent Council's Polish-Lithuanian Treasury Department for Crown and Lithuanian affairs, 1776–1778, *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, f. Tzw. Metryka Litewska, dz. VII, nr. 115, l. 186.

48 R. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, "Litowskaia Metryka w drugoi palove XVIII st.: peramiashchen′ni arkhivu, a taksama pratsy pa iago systematyzatsyi i wparadkavan′i," *Arche. Pachatak* 9 (2009): 139–140.

49 VII term of the Permanent Council protocol for ongoing affairs, start date October 2, 1787, end date March 28, 1788. *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, f. Tzw. Metryka Litewska, dz. VII, nr. 63, l. 46 (286).

50 E. Rabowicz, "Kaczanowski Grzegorz," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 11 (3) (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1965), 365–366.

placed in order by year, rebound, and a printed title page was stuck into each one. In addition, a document register was compiled in Latin.[51] A total of 630 Lithuanian Metrica books were rebound.

The Permanent Council's plenum of November 20, 1787 passed a resolution for the formation of a special commission to check the newly bound Lithuanian Metrica books and to approve the work done to put them in order.[52] The question of a salary for the Lithuanian *metrykant* was also raised at this meeting, as in an announcement addressed to the Permanent Council Kaczanowski drew their attention to the different amounts he received compared to the Polish *metrykants*, and asked to have his pension, that is, salary, increased. He also asked to cover the expenses that exceeded the sum allocated for putting the Lithuanian Metrica into order in 1786. Kaczanowski had strong support when raising the matter of his salary—he was backed by bishop Naruszewicz, which we can gather from the correspondence between the bishop and the king Stanisław August. In one of his letters written to the king Stanisław August in the beginning of November, 1787, Naruszewicz noted that Kaczanowski was the only civil servant accountable for both chancelleries of the Lithuanian Metrica—the major and the minor, while in Poland there were two *metrykants* to whom the "Permanent Council would allocate 6,000 each every year," and who "might never have even set eyes on that Metrica, as they have a subaltern, old Kitkiewicz, who stood in for them in their work."[53] Naruszewicz asked the king to ensure that adequate reimbursement would be ensured for those working with the Lithuanian Metrica.

Regardless of the influential bishop's requests, the question of the *metrykant*'s salary was only discussed at a meeting of the Permanent Council almost one year later—in September, 1788.[54] The operating protocol of the Permanent Council has record of a secret vote by its members

51 A. Baliulis, "Iš Lietuvos Metrikos knygų ir dokumentų leidimo istorijos," *Lietuvos archyvai* 7 (1996): 48.

52 Session 98, VII term of the Permanent Council protocol for ongoing affairs, November 20, 1787. *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, f. Tzw. Metryka Litewska, dz. VII, nr. 63, l. 46 (286).

53 Letter from Naruszewicz to Stanisław August, November 2, 1787 from Karniewka, *Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie*, no. 928, 159–161.

54 VII term of the Permanent Council original protocol of public affairs, 3rd quarter, start date April 1, 1788, end date October 3. *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, f. Tzw. Metryka Litewska, dz. VII, no. 65, l. 132 (301).

over the allocation of funding to Kaczanowski.[55] We learn that seventeen of the nineteen representatives of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania who participated in the 178th session of the Permanent Council on September 19, 1788 voted in favor of reimbursement for the binding of the Lithuanian Metrica books, while two were against. More (seven representatives) voted against reimbursing Kaczanowski for his work. However, based on the number of votes, both decisions were passed in favor of the Lithuanian *metrykant*.

The protocols of the Permanent Council also reveal an interesting fact about the actual reimbursement for putting the Lithuanian Metrica into order. They reveal that the funds in the Lithuanian state treasury at the time had already been allocated "towards other public matters," so it was financially impossible to increase the *metrykant*'s salary and pension. Taking this situation into account, the Permanent Council ordered the Treasury Commission of the Kingdom of Poland to pay 1,620 Polish złoty to the Lithuanian *metrykant* called Kaczanowski for binding the books of the Lithuanian Metrica.[56] For his merits, the Lithuanian *metrykant* was awarded a premium of 3,000 Polish złoty, which the Crown Treasury Commission was also ordered to pay out.[57]

The sources we have hint at an item of legislation drafted in around 1787–1788, which was meant to equal the status of officials working with the Lithuanian Metrica and the Polish Metrica. It was decided at a meeting of the Permanent Council on November 20, 1787 "to prepare a draft on this matter for the upcoming sejm, so that as the Crown *metrykants* have an annual pension outlined in law, so too should the Commonwealth view the Lithuanian *metrykant* favorably in this regard."[58] At this time, the Lithuanian *metrykant* was allocated a premium of 3,000 złoty,[59] whereas the salary of the Polish *metrykant* reached 6,000. We could presume that the law equaling the salaries of *metrykants* was expected to be passed at the Warsaw sejm due for October 7, 1788.

55 VII term of the Permanent Council original protocol of public affairs, 4th quarter, start date April 1, 1788, end date October 3, ibid., no. 66, l. 85 (631).

56 VII term of the Permanent Council original protocol of public affairs, 3rd quarter, ibid., no. 65, l. 132 (301).

57 Ibid., l. 134 (302).

58 VII term of the Permanent Council original protocol of public affairs, 3rd quarter, start date October 2, 1787, end date March 28, 1788, ibid., no. 63, l. 46 (286).

59 VII term of the Permanent Council original protocol of public affairs, 3rd quarter, ibid., no. 65, l. 134 (302).

The growth in the culture of law led to the increasing demands of society to base their various transactions on document copies kept in the state archive, regardless of how difficult it actually was to be issued with such extracts from the state archive whilst it was in Warsaw. In order to "extract" a document from the Metrica books, one had to not only send an application to Warsaw and pay for the search within the archive itself, but also pay for the preparation of the copy, as well as its transfer to the applicant. All of this prompted the nobility to demand that the Lithuanian Metrica be returned to Lithuania. Alongside this demand, the nobility wanted that each district in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania would be provided with registers of documents kept in the state archive. To this aim, a law had to be passed that would regulate the procedure for the issue of extracts from the Lithuanian Metrica archive and their sending out to each administrative unit in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The authors of this draft law were most likely Chancellor A. M. Sapieha and Vice-Chancellor J. L. Chreptowicz. Interestingly, in the 1780s, upon Chreptowicz's orders, a special anthology of extracts from the Lithuanian Metrica was compiled, meant for the personal archive of the vice-chancellor.[60]

Ahead of the Warsaw Sejm of 1788, a draft law for the storage of the Lithuanian Metrica and its management was prepared and sent out to the districts. This can be assumed judging by a comparison of the formulae of the pre-sejm demands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania sejmiks in 1788 to allocate funds for the management of the state archive with the text of the Permanent Council's protocol from the same year. Note however that a more radical demand than just compiling registers of the Lithuanian Metrica was being raised at the sejmiks in 1788—they also demanded that the state archive would be returned to Lithuania. This demand was repeated in 1790 as well, at the sejmiks of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

As the research by Zigmantas Kiaupa has shown, the Lithuanian nobility knew that the Metrica was being managed, summarized, and that document registers were being compiled. The monarch himself, Stanisław August, announced this on the eve of the sejmiks. That is why in 1788, at least several sejmiks—Kaunas, Mozyr, Navahrudak, Pinsk, Reczycza, and Upytė—suggested thanking Stanisław August for the work being done with the Lithuanian Metrica.[61] Incidentally, the instructions from these sejmiks

60 Kiaupa, "Lietuvos Metrika," 196.
61 Ibid., 194.

repeated almost identically the text of the Permanent Council's resolution. Thus, in the requirement outlines by the Kaunas district nobility, we read:

> As the Lithuanian Metricas were since time immemorial untended and scattered, and now at the expense of his Royal Highness they have been somewhat tidied and bound, and moved to the Commonwealth Palace, concerning their further administration and registration, the envoys of his grace shall seek to procure payment from the Estates for the graciousness shown to the nation by his Illustrious Royal Highness, expressing their sincere gratitude.[62]

Besides the gratitude expressed by the Kaunas, Mozyr, Navahrudak, Pinsk, Reczycza, and Upytė sejmiks to the ruler, words of thanks to the *metrykant* Kaczanowski for his work in putting the Lithuanian Metrica archive into order were also expressed by the Lithuanian nobility. In its first instruction of August 18, 1788, the Upytė sejmik appreciated his contribution in "registering and neatly putting together the Lithuanian Metrica,"[63] while two days later, point 12 in the instruction of the Hrodno sejmik passed on August 20 obliged delegates to ensure that the functions and reimbursement of the diligent Kaczanowski, the acting *metrykant* working with the Lithuanian Metrica, would be made equal to that received by Crown *metrykants*.[64] These kinds of requirements to express gratitude were intensified in the election campaign of 1790 by the fact that he (Kaczanowski), the client of the Trakai castellan and long-serving member of the Permanent

62 "Ponieważ Metryki Litewskie od niepamiętnych lat były zaniedbane i rozrzucone, a teraz kosztem najjaśniejszego K. J. M. nieco dźwignione i oprawione oraz do pałacu Rzeczypospolitej przeniesione zostały, zatym na dostateczniejsze ich tak opatrzenie, jako też zregestrowanie dołożą się j.w. posłowie u stanow o ekspens, a za uczynioną dla narodu przez najjaśniejszego K. J. M. łaskę najpokorniejsze złożą dziękczynienia," Kaunas sejmik instruction, August 18, 1788, "Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės seimelių instrukcijos," 144–145.

63 Upytė sejmik instruction, August 18, 1788, "Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės seimelių instrukcijos," 155: "Jako wszystkie J. K. M. p. n. m. czyny celu innego nie mają, tylko uszczęśliwienia narodu, tak w szczegolności użycie jm. pana [Grzegorza] Kaczanowskiego metrykanta litewskiego do porządnego Metryk Litewskich zregestrowania i ich złożenia, wielkie J. K. M. dla narodu wyświadczone probuje dobrodziejstwo, do najpowinniejszego za one J. K. M. podziękowania najżywszych j. w. posłowie użyją wyrazow."

64 Ibid., 119: "Takoż jm. pana [Grzegorza] Kaczanowskiego, pracowicie funkcyją metrykanta litewskiego przy aktach Metryk sprawującego, do porownania jego funkcyi w nadgrodzie przyzwoitej z metrykantami koronnemi zaleci względom J. K. M. i Rzeczypospolitej j. w. posłow obligujemy."

Council, K. K. Plater, submitted his candidacy as a representative of the royal court faction at the Livonian sejm in 1790, and was elected as a delegate to the Four-Year Sejm.[65]

Figure 17. *The Veiviržėnai city coat of arms was published in Lithuanian Metrica Book 556 which included the privileges on the right to autonomy granted to Lithuanian cities in 1791–1792.* (*Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 556 (1791–1792). Viešųjų reikalų knyga 35*, ed. A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius, and E. Rimša [Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2005], 113)

As was already mentioned, the nobility was not only concerned with having their documents in order and systematized, but to also have registers of the Metrica acts at their district chancelleries. The demand to see that "Lithuanian Metrica acts be registered in order and that these registers would be sent out to all the palatinates and districts in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" can be seen in sejmik instructions from the Vilnius palatinate in 1788[66] and the Lida district in 1790.[67]

65 Rabowicz, "Kaczanowski Grzegorz," 365–366; R. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, "Między Warszawą a Wilnem: Metryka Litewska w latach 1792–1794," in *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijos šaltiniai. Faktas. Kontekstas. Interpretacija*, 199–212.

66 "Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės seimelių instrukcijos," 42: "Akta zaś Metryk Litewskich ażeby porządnie zregestrowane i regestra pod pieczęcią zwykłą do wszystkich kancelaryjow wojewodzkich i powiatowych W. Ks. L. rozesłane były, j. w. posłowie instabunt."

67 Ibid., 70: "i takowe metryki ażeby zregestrowane i porządnie ułożone były z dokładnymi onym sumaryjuszem, ichm. panowie posłowie doprasza się będą."

The sejmik instructions revealed an even more radical intention—to have the Lithuanian Metrica returned to Lithuania. Research conducted by Kiaupa showed that the *egzulant* sejmiks (those representing exiled Commonwealth nobles who had decided to leave the lands captured by Russia) of Upytė, Trakai, Hrodno, Mozyr, Reczycza, and Smolensk sought to have the state archive returned to Lithuania in 1788. In 1790, this requirement was repeated by the Hrodno and Lida sejmiks, also joined by the Kaunas sejmik.[68] Only the approaches differed as to where the Lithuanian Metrica had to be returned—to Vilnius or to Hrodno. The Trakai, Upytė, Mozyr, and Smolensk *egzulants*, and the Hrodno and Kaunas nobility wanted to see the archive back in Vilnius. The nobility from Reczycza and Lida meanwhile were in favor of having the state archive kept in Hrodno.

An intense pre-sejm campaign and demands raised en masse to see to the archive's management gave reasons to believe that the Lithuanian Metrica would be returned. However, when fundamental matters such as the reform of the entire state's system of government and enlargement of the military started being discussed at the Four-Year Sejm, the topic of the Lithuanian Metrica was pushed to the sidelines (fig. 17).

Return of the Lithuanian Metrica to Vilnius

The Lithuanian Metrica archive spent almost four years in the Commonwealth Palace in Warsaw. After the turbulent Four-Year Sejm epoch and the entrenchment of factions opposed to the Constitution of May 3 in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was pursuing a path of separation from Poland, embraced the idea of seeing the Lithuanian Metrica returned. Several universal laws were passed on this matter by the confederation government. They included the instruction to Lithuanian officials dated August 14, 1792 "to move to Hrodno with all the archives serving the Lithuanian nation until September 15"[69] and the instructions of September 23, 1792

68 Kiaupa, "Lietuvos Metrika," 198.

69 For a published version of a facsimile of the universal law, see: R. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės konfederacijos susidarymas ir veikla 1792–1793 metais* (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2003), 145: "Uniwersał konfederacji generalnej WXL z dnia 14 sierpnia 1792 r., rozkazuiący Osobom Magistratury Litewskie składaiącym i ich Officialistom [. . .] ażeby na dzień 15 7bra w Roku teraźnieyszym ze wszelkiemi Archiwami, służącemi Narodu Litewskiemu do miasta Grodna przenieśli się."

to the *metrykant* Kaczanowski to transport the whole Lithuanian Metrica to Vilnius within eight weeks of the announcement of the universal rule, and to keep it in the former Jesuit St. Casimir's Monastery. Kaczanowski was to be held personally accountable if this law was not followed, and was threatened with losing his office.[70] The Confederation leaders ordered that the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had to cover the cost of transporting the Metrica.[71] We should also note that the leaders of the Lithuanian Confederation received a memorial from the *metrykant* in early October 1792, which outlined the details of transporting the Metrica and presented a quote for the cost of moving the Lithuanian Metrica from Warsaw to Vilnius: 14,000 Polish złoty. The Confederation leaders confirmed these expenses and indicated the timeframe for the Metrica's transfer and where it would be kept. In addition, the General Council of the Confederation made Kaczanowski swear that he would honestly transport the Metrica from Warsaw to Vilnius.[72] The *metrykant* carried out his orders: On October 27, 1792 he swore an oath in the presence of the Lithuanian General Confederation.[73]

In historiography, this order is considered as Kaczanowski's own oath of allegiance to the Confederation, highlighting that he, being an ardent patriot and a supporter of the Constitution of May 3, hesitated to side with the Targowica faction.[74] However, an analysis of the documents showed that the Lithuanian *metrykant* was not a "stranger" to the Confederates—already on August 7, 1792, we find his surname among the members of Confederation leaders in the Pinsk district.[75] So, the General Council of

70 Uniwersał urządzaiący Sądy Assessorskie i Metryki Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego, Vilnius University Library, Rare Prints Division, sign. IV 24608. Cf. Baliulis, "Iš Lietuvos Metrikos knygų," 48–49.

71 Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, "Między Warszawą," 202.

72 Ibid.

73 Protokuł Nro 4to, *Summaryusz Generalny czynności Konfederacyi Targowickiey z wypisaniem treści tak Sancitow, jako–też Rezoliucyi na Memoriały Juryzdykcyi i Obywatelow wydanych* [. . .] (Warszawa, 1792), O, no. 45.

74 See Rabowicz, "Kaczanowski Grzegorz," 365; A. Baliulis, "Primirštas dokumentas apie Lietuvos Metrikos pergabenimą į Vilnių XVIII a. pabaigoje," *Lietuvos Metrikos naujienos* 6 (2002): 19.

75 Exerpt z Protokolu konfed. Wolney Pttu Pinskiego zapisanych [. . .] pod pieczęćią Konfederacyi Powiatowey w Roku terzn. 1792 Mca Augusta 7 dnia iest wydan, *Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences*, Manuscripts Department, col. 17, file 68, p. 61–64.

the Confederation actually entrusted someone loyal to carry out such an important task—to bring back the state archive.

In the beginning of November, 1792, the Confederation leaders issued a repeated resolution to the *metrykant*, outlining that "the Lithuanian Metrica could only be kept at St. Casimir's Church and nowhere else."[76] Several weeks later, at the end of November, special premises were set aside at the former Vilnius St. Casimir's Jesuit Monastery for placing the Lithuanian Metrica archive and for accommodating Kaczanowski.[77] However, the Metrica's transfer did not go smoothly. This is evident from a resolution passed in the beginning of December, 1792 by the Confederation leaders allowing an extension of the timeframe for the Lithuanian Metrica's transfer from Warsaw to Vilnius, even though no specific dates were indicated.[78] Judging by the announcements in the press at the time about preparations for a symbolic welcome the Lithuanian archive back to Vilnius, we can guess that the Lithuanian state archive returned to Vilnius at the end of December, 1792 or early in January, 1793. On December 15, 1792, in a message from a "Warsaw correspondent" titled "Premises set aside at the former Vilnius Jesuit St. Casimir's Monastery for the Metrica and the Lithuanian *metrykant*," it was announced that:

> His grace, the duke Massalski, bishop of Vilnius, known for his good deeds in the name of the Nation and willingness to make sacrifices for the nation, with his significant funds and expenses to prepare the hall for the Diocese archive in the former Vilnius St. Casimir's Jesuit Monastery has ordered that these premises be assigned to the books of the Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [. . .]. This order was given, confirmed, and passed by decree of the Vilnius Diocese administration on November 12, 1792.[79]

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76 "Ażeby Metryki Litewskie niegdzie indzey, jak w Klasztorze S. Kazimierza lokowane były," *Summaryusz Generalny*, O, no. 57.

77 "Oznaczenie mieysca w Klasztorze Po–Jezuickim Wileńskim S. Kazimierza na lokacyą Mertyk i mieszkanie Ur. Metrykanta Litewskiego," ibid., P, no. 101.

78 "Przedłużenie czasu na przewiezienie Metryk W. X. Litt. z Warszawy do Wilna," ibid., P, no. 103.

79 "JO Xże Jm Massalski Biskup Wileński wylany cały dla dobra Oyczyzny i z chęcią dla Narodu czyniący ofiary, salę w Klasztorze Po-Jezuickim Sgo Kazimierza w Wilnie, znacznym kosztem i wydatkiem usposobiwszy, na ulokowanie Archiwum Dyecezalnego, oney, dla umieszczenia Metryk W.X.Lit. Odstąpi raczył [. . .], przez Administracyi Dyecezyi Wileńskiej pod dniem 12 9bra R. teraźnieyszego wydane, potwierdza i przyimuie," Oznaczenie mieysca w Klasztorze Po–Jezuickim Wileńskim Sgo Kazimierza na ulokowanie Metryk i pomieszkanie Ur. Metrykanta Litewskiego," *Korrespondent Warszawski*, 15 grudnia 1792, dodatek do nr. 98, 960.

In the beginning of 1793, Kaczanowski reported back to the Confederation leaders about his work. At a meeting on January 23 in Hrodno, the General Council of the Lithuanian Confederation passed a document which has been identified in the protocol as "In response to the Lithuanian *metrykant* Grezgorz Kaczanowski's request," from which we learn which documents of the Lithuanian Metrica could have been left behind in Warsaw at the end of 1792, which the *metrykant* did not bring back along with the rest of the archive. The whole text of this telling document is given below:

> In response to the Lithuanian *metrykant* Grzegorz Kaczanowski's request, in points:
>
> 1. Commendation for his diligence in taking care that the integrity of the Acts would not be violated and that documents serving the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Crown Metrica archive would be copied.
> 2. Declaration to oblige his grace, the Vice-Treasurer Dziekonski, to prepare a requisition for the Hrodno economy's inventory, which was part of the Lithuanian Metrica archive, but at the instruction of his grace Kossakowski, was transferred into the archive of His Royal Highness in 1768.
> 3. The Illustrious Duke Karol Radziwiłł, palatine of Vilnius, received a privilege at the 1768 sejm confirming a privilege granted to this Nesvyzh line earlier, whereby all original laws serving the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, privileges, and diplomas would remain in their archive, on the condition that they would be copied and registered for the Crown and Lithuanian metricas. As this obligation was left unfulfilled, the General Confederation orders the duke marshal to present a grand requisition for the return of the mentioned acts within no more than three months.
> 4. The Confederation declares that it will be appealing to the Russian government about keeping its promise and issuing extracts and documents serving the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that are in the Russian archive.
> 5. Concerning the salary of the noble *metrykant*'s work—until a resolution shall be passed regarding his salary, the resolution of October 27 is temporarily deemed valid.[80]

80 Odpowiedź na żądanie Ur.: Grzegorza Kaczanowskiego Metrykanta W. X. Litt. w następnych Punktach. 1mo. Pochwała piłność jego w dozorze nenaruszoney

From the document it becomes evident that documents incorporated into the king's archive in 1768, that is, the Hrodno economy's inventory and the documents kept at the Radziwiłł archive in Nesvyzh, which had not been copied with the rest of the Lithuanian Metrica, had not been taken back to Vilnius. Orders were given to see to these documents and to return them to Vilnius in the space of three months, that is, until the beginning of May, 1793.

Once the Lithuanian Metrica was transferred to St. Casimir's Church, Kaczanowski soon left for Hrodno where he became involved in the Confederation's activities. The Confederates appreciated his merits in returning the archive: In the middle of May, 1793 the vice-treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Antoni Dziekonski was instructed "to reimburse Kaczanowski his expenses of 14,000 złoty for the transport of the Lithuanian Metrica."[81] Within a couple of weeks, he was given a 6,000 złoty pension.[82] So, by the decision of the Lithuanian Confederation, Kaczanowski was allocated a salary of the same size as the Polish *metrykants* received for their work, just like the one he expected to receive in 1787 when he first appealed to the king and the Permanent Council.

During the Hrodno Sejm in 1793, Kaczanowski's functions in Hrodno included signing the last meeting protocol of the Lithuanian Confederation

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całości Aktow i w przekopiowaniu Pism W. X. Litt służących a w Archiwum Metryk Koron: znayduiących się. 2do. Deklaruie zobowiąz JW Dziekońskiego Podskarbiego Nadwornego, ażeby uczynił Rekwizycyą o zwrot Inwentarza Ekonomii Grodzień. z Archiwum Metryk Litt. za Rewersem JW. Kossowskiego do Archiwum J. K. Mci Roku 1768 przeniesionego. 3tio. JO Xże Karol Radziwiłł Woiewoda Wileń. na Seymie 1768 Ru, otrzymał utwierdzenie Przywileiu dawniey temu Domowi Linii Nieświzkiey nadanego, ażeby wszystkie Oryginałne Prawa, Przywilejie, Dyplomata W. X. Litt. służące w ich Archiwum zostawały, pod obowiązkiem jednak podania ich do Akt Metryk Koronney ị Litewskiey, dla przekopiowania i aktykacyi, a gdy tego obowiązku nie dopełnił, Konfederacja Generalna zaleca Xciu Marszałkowi uczynienia solenney Rekwizycyi o powrot zwyż wspomnionych Aktow, naydaley w przeciągu trzech Miesiący. 4to. Konfederacja oświadcza uczynienie Rekwizycyi do Rządu Rossyjskiego, o dopełnienie uczynioney obietnicy, wydania Tranzaktow i Dokumentow W. X. Litt. służących, a w Archiwum Rossyjskim znayduiących się. 5to. Co do nadgrody za prace Ur. Metrykanta, nim nastąpi urządzenie dla niego pensyi, tym czasiem odsyła do rezolucyi swoiey dnia 27 8bra wydaney Protokuł Nro 5to. Pod Tytułem: Protokuł Czynności Konfederacyi Generalney od Roku 1793. Miesiąca Stycznia 23. Dnia w Grodnie, *Summaryusz Generalny*, R, no. 2.

81 "Zalecenie W. Dziekońskiemu, ażeby oblikwidował summę 14 000 złł. Poł. na przywiezienie Metryk Litt. Ur. Kaczanowskienu daney," ibid., Y, no. 240.

82 "Oznaczenie Summy 6 000 złł. Poł dla Ur. Metrykanta Kaczanowskiego w nagrodę tymczasową pracy," ibid., Y, no. 260.

together with the Confederation marshal Józef Zabiełło on September 14, 1793.[83] Interestingly, the question of equaling the salaries of Lithuanian and Polish *metrykants* was once again raised at meetings of the Hrodno Sejm. On October 8, 1793, the Treasury Commission of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was ordered to pay *metrykant* Kaczanowski a sum of 6,000 złoty for his additional work.[84]

> Note that in the autumn of 1792, the leaders of the Lithuanian Confederation made their demands to not only return the Metrica to Vilnius, but also the archives of other institutions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: the Treasury Commission archive[85] and the Education Commission archive.[86] Funds for returning the Education Commission archive to Vilnius (150 red złoty) were loaned by the Livonian bishop, Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski. Incidentally, the Confederation returned this money to the bishop. Premises for storing the archive were found at the Vilnius Academy.[87] The archive of the Foreign Affairs Department was taken back to Hrodno, and a suitable space was found at a Hrodno school.[88]

In the general context of archive management and concern for the documentation's security, the goal of constructing a building meant especially for archives in Vilnius was becoming more pronounced. Historiography has featured discussions over whether a palace intended especially for the Lithuanian Metrica could have been built in the territory of the Vilnius Lower Castle at the end of the eighteenth century, as art researcher Vladas Drėma claimed when he publicized the report of architect Martin Knakfuss in 1964 about the construction of a building for the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Robertas Jurgaitis has dismissed this hypothesis, providing evidence that a separate building for the Lithuanian Metrica archive was not built within the territory of the Vilnius Lower Castle. On the eve of the dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the so-called "archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" or the "new chancellery" was built based on a design by Knakfuss, yet it was not intended for storing the

83 Ibid., Z2.
84 *Volumina Legum* 10 (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk z zasiłkiem Ministerstwa Szkolnictwa Wyższego i Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1952), 65.
85 *Summaryusz Generalny*, U2, no. 138.
86 Middle of November, 1792, ibid., Prot. no. 4, O2, no. 69.
87 February, 1793, ibid., Prot. no. 5, S, no. 50; ibid., see: U2, no. 134.
88 Ibid., W, no. 175.

Lithuanian Metrica. The Vilnius castle and land court books, as well as the Lithuanian Supreme Tribunal archive were meant to be moved into this building.[89]

The Lithuanian Metrica During the Tadeusz Kościuszko Uprising

At the start of the uprising in 1794, the *metrykant* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was in Warsaw. He was among the throng of the first rebels in the Warsaw town hall on April 19, 1794, and Kaczanowski's influence with the leaders of the Masovian uprising—the Provisional Council—hint at why it discussed the issue of the Lithuanian Metrica on May 8. The protocol has recorded that "upon receiving news about the storage of the Lithuanian Metrica and other documents in the private care of Domeyko" and taking into account the fact that "documents of this nature are the property of citizens of the Lithuanian province and must therefore be protected", a decision was reached to take all the documents out of private hands and to move them to a safer location. The uprising's leaders appointed their authorized envoys Szymon Kazimierz Szydłowski and Stanisław Rafałowicz to take the Metrica documents from Domeyko, who were meant to immediately take charge of the archive and make Domeyko swear that he was returning every last single document and had nothing else hidden away.[90] Keeping in mind that it was Michał Radziwiłł and Józef Wybicki who represented the Grand Duchy of Lithuania among the uprising's leaders in session at the time, we can presume that it was not just Kaczanowski who was seeing to matters concerning the Lithuanian Metrica in the spring of 1794, but also Radziwiłł

89 Jurgaitis, "Ar XVIII a. pabaigoje," 51–54.

90 *Akty powstania Kościuszki*, ed. Sz. Askenazy i Wł. Dzwonkowski (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1918), vol. 1, 120: "Mając sobie doniesienie, że Archiwum Metryki Litewskiej i Innych Papierow ma się znaydowa pod Dozorem przywatnym Pa Domeyko, By takowe papiery do Całośći Maiątkow Obywateli Prowincyi Litewskiej należa, i dla tego zabespieczenia potrzebuią, przeto końcem obięcia takowego Archiwum i Papierow z Grona Swego Szydłowskiego i Stanisława Rafałowicz konsylarzy wyznacza, ktorzy takowe Archiwum i Papiery od JP Domeyko pod swoie zarządzenie niezwłocznie odbiorą, takowe zapieczątuią i mieysce bespieczne końcem ulokowania takowych opatrzą. Żeby zaś zabespieczy się, że wszelkie Papiery i Archiwum w całośći będzie przez Pa Domeyko wydane, ciż Deputowani przysięgę od tegoż P. Domeyko na to, że w całości Papiery i Archiwum oddaie, nic z takowego nieutaił, i gdzieby inne Papiery znaydowaly się nie wie, odebra będą mocni, i o tym wszystkim Radę zainformowa nieomieszkaią."

(especially when it came to the Nesvyzh archive, which was meant to be returned to the Metrica).

The decision of the Provisional Council was implemented immediately: The remaining part of the Lithuanian Metrica archive that was still in Warsaw was taken over from Domeyko, stamped, and transferred to the home of Chreptowicz.[91]

Protocols do not contain information as to just how the Lithuanian Metrica's affairs unfolded thereafter. However, by the last week of May, Kaczanowski did return to Vilnius where he presented himself to the Lithuanian rebel leaders. Unlike in Warsaw, here he was viewed with some suspicion: He was an aide to the Confederates, a nominal councilor in Pinsk, not to mention the more than 20,000 złoty he had received from the Confederates' hands. . . . Thus, the *metrykant* had to prove his loyalty to the rebels. On May 24, 1794, the Lithuanian Provisional Council appointed its citizens Wiszniewski, Geisztor, Haciski, and Haraburda, in whose presence the Lithuanian *metrykant* had to swear an oath in accordance with a special set of instructions.[92] Barely two days later, on May 26, the Lithuanian rebel leaders were discussing the question of the Lithuanian Metrica. The council's protocol shows that it passed a suitable instruction for the delegated representatives to protect the Lithuanian Metrica,[93] and on June 4, it "listened to the report of the deputies who reviewed the Lithuanian Metrica and were convinced of the proper maintenance of the Metrica's [condition] for the citizens."[94] As a result, Kaczanowski was again given jurisdiction

91 *Akty powstania Kościuszki*, vol. 2, 32; Rabowicz, "Kaczanowski Grzegorz," 365.

92 Dalszy ciąg z Dziennika Rady Tymczasowey Litewskiej, Dnia 24 Maja, Gazeta Narodowa Wileńska za Rozkazem Rady Narodu Litewskiego, we srzodę dnia 29 Maja, roku 1794, nr. 8: " . . . do wysłuchania JP Kaczanowskiego Metrykanta Lit. przysięgi, JP Wiszniewskiego, Gieysztora, Haciskiego i Haraburdę kollegow swych z osobą do tego Instrukcyą nominowała."

93 Dalszy ciąg z Dziennika Rady Tymczasowey Litewskiej, Dnia 26 Maja, ibid., w niedzielę dnia 1 Czerwca, roku 1794, nr. 9: "Delegowanym do zapespieczenia Metryk WXLitt. stosowną przepisała Instrukcyą."

94 Dalszy ciąg z Dziennika Rady Tymczasowey Litewskiej, Dnia 4 Junii, ibid., dnia 8 czerwca, roku 1794, nr. 11: "Deputowanych do Rewizyi Metryk WXLitt. wysłuchala relacyi, z ktorey będąć przekonaną, o porządnym chwalebnym i dla Obywatelow wygodnym Metryk Litt. przez JP. Kaczanowskiego utrzymywaniu, dalsze onemi zawiadywanie temuż JP Kaczanowskiemu poruczywszy, świadectwo dobrze pelnionych przez niego obowiązkow i zaletę pracy Obywatelskiey JP Kazirowitza będącego przy nim Substytuta, zapisała. Relacyą za tę dla wielu potrzebnych wiadomości w Dzienniku swym umieści kazała."

over the Lithuanian Metrica, also appreciating the efforts of his assistance, Kazirowicz.

On June 19, as the Russian army approached Vilnius, the Central Deputies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania who were in command of the rebels grew concerned over the possible fate of the Metrica. There is a record in the deputies' journal that citizen Kaczanowski, the Lithuanian *metrykant*, was given a declaration regarding the Metrica's location.[95] From this announcement alone, it is difficult to gauge what decision was made: to hide the Metrica, or to see to its removal? Note that on June 22, the Central Deputies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, having received instructions from the Supreme National Council to "order the Lithuanian *metrykant* to compile and send a digest of the Targowica conspirators' activities," allocated Kaczanowski with some additional work.[96] Repeated instructions to the Lithuanian *metrykant* from Warsaw reached Vilnius on July 1, however their content also remains unclear. All that was found recorded in the protocol is that the Central Deputies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had received the Supreme National Council's instructions for the Lithuanian *metrykant*.[97]

It is likely that the message received on July 1 gave orders to take the archive back to Warsaw, as it was precisely at this time that the Supreme National Council also grew concerned over the archive's security. At the session held on July 2, councilor Zakrzewski was ordered to "try to move the Lithuanian archive kept in Chreptowicz's home to a safe place."[98] In the last days of June, a decision must have been made in Vilnius as to what portion of the documents were to be taken to Warsaw, and which ones would be hidden locally. Based on the declaration made by Kaczanowski, and presented by Ptaszycki, addressed to Nikolai Repnin about the **significant** [highlighted by the author—*R. Š.-S.*] part of the archive he had

95 Dalszy ciąg z Dziennika Deputacyi Centralney WXLitt, dnia 19 Junii, ibid., dnia 25 czerwca, roku 1794, nr. 16: "Obywatelowi Kaczanowskiemu Metrykantowi Litt. stosowną do lokacyi Metryk wydała deklaracyą."

96 Dalszy ciąg z Dziennika Deputacyi Centralney WXLitt, Dnia 22 Junii, ibid.

97 Dalszy ciąg czynności Deputacyi Centralney WXLitt, Dnia 1 Julii, ibid., dnia 13 Lipca, roku 1794, nr. 21.

98 Sessya Rady Naywyzszey Narodowey pod prezydencyą Ob. Kapostasa zastępcy, Dnia 2 lipca, Gazeta Rządowa, nr. 4, Dzień 4 Lipca, roku 1794, p. 13: "Na przełożenie O. Zakrzewskiego Radczy Wydziałowi Porządku zaleciła, ażeby się starał przenieść w mieysce bezpezne Archiwum Litewskie, dotąd w domu Chreptowicza pod zapieczętowaniem zastaiące."

himself hidden in St. Casimir's Church,[99] it can be said that the leaders of the Lithuanian rebels sought to keep the Metrica in Vilnius. Only a smaller proportion of the archive would have been taken away to Warsaw. The question is, what were the criteria for selecting documents to be removed/kept, and at whose orders was this done—lacking sufficient sources, this question remains unanswered.

At the end of July, 1794, *metrykant* Kaczanowski and part of the Lithuanian Metrica archive was already in Warsaw. On August 1, the Supreme National Council, having received news of the archives and Lithuanian Metrica brought to Warsaw from Vilnius, gave him orders to take the mentioned books, along with those that were being kept in the Chreptowicz home in Warsaw ever since the beginning of the uprising, to the palace of His Royal Highness, and to place them there safely. A branch of the Supreme National Council that was accountable for all the other archives was meant to ensure the security of these books as well.[100]

Thus, in 1792–1794, the Lithuanian Metrica archive was "scattered": A majority of this archive was returned to Vilnius in late 1792, leaving those documents in Warsaw that were incorporated into other archives and where there was no time to make copies, or where the copies were only starting to be made. In July, 1794, when part of the archive was hidden in the former Jesuit monastery in Vilnius near St. Casimir's Church, the Lithuanian Metrica was again taken away to Warsaw. At this time, the ongoing, or "current" books of the Lithuanian Metrica were with the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania K. K. Plater in Hrodno, who had in April, 1793 taken over the office of J. L. Chreptowicz when he left for another country.

The uprising was defeated, the Russians occupied Warsaw, and in December, 1794, the Lithuanian Metrica that was kept there was returned again to Vilnius via Hrodno, however only so that the occupant forces could collect the books kept at St. Casimir's Church, and with the archive intact, take it away on ships to Saint Petersburg from Riga in January, 1795.[101] Empress Catherine II allocated a sum of 30,000 silver rubles to Alexander Suvorov, the commander of the Russian army in the Polish-Lithuanian

99 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 13.

100 Zalecenie ob. Kaczanowskiemu metrykantowi ulokowania metryki archiwow w zamku JKM, z Wilna przywiezionych, Działo się w Warszawie, w domu Raczyńskich zwanym, dnia pierwszego miesiąca sierpnia roku 1794, in *Akty powstania Kościuszki*, vol. 2, 32.

101 Baliulis, "Primirštas dokumentas," 19–20; Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 93.

Commonwealth, for transporting the Polish archives and the Załuski library to Russia.[102]

A telling fact which shows how important it was for the Russian imperial occupant government to remove all of the Lithuanian state's documentary legacy is a short note about how the Vilnius apartment of *metrykant* Kaczanowski was ransacked twice by Russian soldiers. We learn of this fact from a letter from Fr Felix Biernacki to Chancellor K. K. Plater, written from Vilnius on December 15, 1794:

> Almighty, Illustrious, Benevolent Sir,
>
> It is my greatest joy to carry out the orders of His Eminent Royal Highness the King, my gracious lord, your benevolent, almighty grace, as minister, alongside my own according and genuine obligations.
>
> The apartment of his grace, Kaczanowski, is still unoccupied. The woman left there (the maid) takes care of the apartment. I shall do my utmost best, as far as my powers allow, to protect it from the intentions of those [people] who would like to settle in there.
>
> Nonetheless, please, almighty, benevolent sir, protect yourself from his grace General Knorring, who has assumed the highest authority in the city of Vilnius.
>
> That which happened in the apartment of the gracious *metrykant* during the war, on the 17th day of September of this year, I wrote about in great detail in a letter to the *metrykant* on the 4th day of this month.
>
> Now I hope for nothing more than for his grace the *metrykant* to return as soon as possible, or that General Knorring might be informed of his expedient arrival, as all of Kaczanowski's rooms have already been searched twice in the hope of finding the Lithuanian Metrica, and as I have found myself in the most distressed conditions under the present circumstances, there was no way I could halt this search, as that which happened, happened according to the orders of the highest authorities now established in Vilnius city. . . .
>
> The most benevolent servant of the Illustrious, Almighty Sir, Fr Felix Biernacki, Diocesan Priest Emeritus of St. Casimir's Church.[103] (fig. 18)

102 V. N. Zaitsev, "Perekrestki istorii natsional′nykh bibliotek Pol′shi i Rossii," in D. Moricheva, *Biblioteka Zaluskikh i Rossiiskaia Natsional′naia biblioteka* (Petersburg: Izdatel′stvo Rossiskoi natsional′noi biblioteki, 2001), 9.

103 Letter from F. Biernacki to K. K. Plater, December 15, 1794, Vilnius, *Lithuanian State History Archive*, col. 1276, inv. 2, file 207, p. 44–45: "Jaśnie Wielmożny Panie Dobrodzieju! Dopełnia rozkazy Najjaśniejszego Krola Jmsci Pana mego Miłościwego

If that which actually unfolded in the *metrykant*'s apartment on September 17, 1794 is still shrouded in secrecy, then from Fr Biernacki's letter it becomes relatively clear that the Russian general did not end up finding the Lithuanian Metrica books possibly hidden in the *metrykant*'s apartment at the St. Casimir Monastery. In fact, the two last "current" books of the Lithuanian Metrica—Book 36 of Patents and Diplomas and Book 37 of Land Grants from 1793–1794—that were in the disposition of the Lithuanian Chancellor K. K. Plater fell into the occupants' hands much more easily. In January, 1795 in Hrodno, Plater personally handed these books over to Repnin, the commander of the Russian Imperial Army and future governor general who had subdued the uprising, writing in the Book of Patents and Diplomas:

> This Lithuanian Metrica book compiled during my chancellorship (the first from the Department of Diplomacy, including the granting of offices and diplomas and personal awards), certified to comply with all the acts entered into the Register, I confirm with my signature for greater authenticity and trust as I give it to his grace, Nikolai Repnin, at his order, here in Hrodno on this day in January of the Year of Our Lord Seventeen Ninety-Five. Count Kazimierz Konstanty Plater.[104]

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za rekwizycją JWo Pana Dobrodzieja jako Ministra – mimo powinnych y ścisłych moich obowiązkow – mam sobie za największe szczęście. Jeszcze do tych czas apartament Jmsc P. Kaczanowskiego nie jest przez nikogo zajęty. – Kobieta ktorą zostawił (zwrocona) pilnuje onego. Będę się starał najusilniej (ile w mojej mocy będzie) zapobiega zamiarom tych, ktorzy by w nim lokowa się chcieli. Jednakże chciej JW Pan Dobrodziej rownie zapobiedz JWo generała Knorringa jako dopiero najwyższą zwierzchność w mieście Wilnie mającego. To co się stało czasu wojny pod dniem 17 7bra roku bieżącego w apartamentach JP Metrykanta najdokładniej opisałam wszystko pod datą 4 presentis do samego JP Metrykanta. Teraz nic nie powitaie – tylko aby sam JP Metrykant jak najprędzej przyjeżdżał, albo żeby o jego prędkim przyjeździe był uprzedzony JW. Knorring Generał. Gdyż już dwa razy rewidowane były wszystkie mieszkania JP Kaczanowskiego dla wyszukania Metryk Litewskich – a czemu ja (ile w teraźniejszych okolicznościach w najbiedniejszej sytuacji położony sine activitate) żadną miarą zapobiedz nie mogłem, bo to co się działo, działo się z ukazu Najwyższej Zwierzchności w mieście Wilnie konsystującej [. . .]. Jaśnie Wielmożnego Pana Dobrodzieja najuniżeńszym sługą X Pelix Biernacki Proboszcz XX. Emerytow Diecezjalnych przy kościele Świętego Kazimierza mp."

104 "Takową metryk Litewskich za podkanclerstwa moiego zebranych xięgę (pierwsą oddziału Dyplomatycznego, Godności y Ozdoby Osobiste oraz doczesne zawieraiącą), zaręczaiąc stossowność Regestru do Aktow wszelkich w tey xiędze umieszczonych przy oddaniu do rąk y za rekwizycią Jasnie Oswieconego xiążęcia Jmci Mikołaia Repnina dla lepszey autentycznosci i wiary ręka własną konnotuię w Grodnie na Dniu—Stycznia

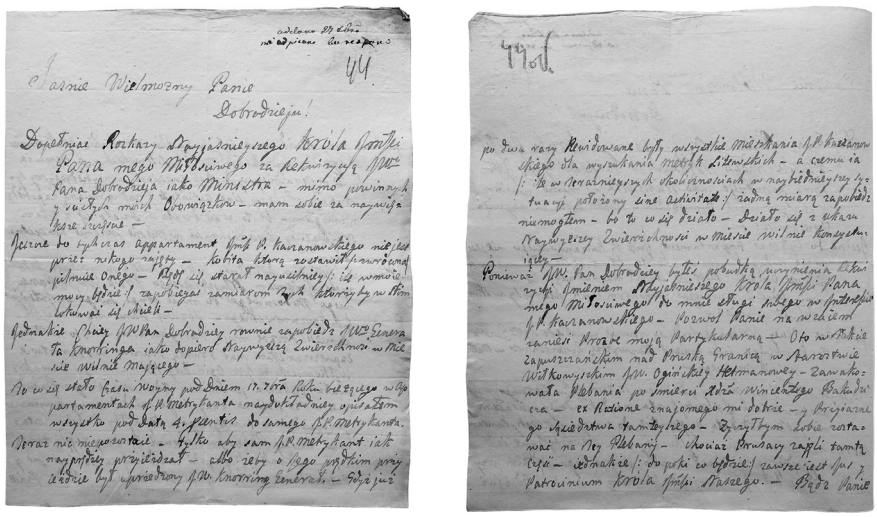

Figure 18. *Letter from Fr Felix Biernacki to Chancellor Kazimierz Konstanty Plater about the Russian army's ransacking in search of the hidden books of the Lithuanian Metrica.* (Lithuanian State History Archive, col. 1276, inv. 2, file 207, 44–45)

The question of how many and exactly which documents of the Lithuanian Metrica were lost during the journeys back and forth between Warsaw and Vilnius awaits further research.

mca Roku Panskiego tysiąc siedmset dziewięćdziesiąt piątego. Kazimierz Konstanty Hr. Plater," see Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 13, 153.

Chapter 9

In Foreign Hands

The Lithuanian Metrica in the Russian Empire

After the annexation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795, all of the books and documents of the Lithuanian Metrica, along with the Polish Crown Metrica and the Załuski library, as the archives of a non-existent state, were selected and transported over land and by ship from Riga to the imperial office in Saint Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire. This was done by the imperial chancellery councilor Pavel Divov at the order of Empress Catherine II. The leader of the Imperial Cabinet of the Russian Empire was charged with putting the recently requisitioned archives into order. During the reorganization, the books of internal affairs and diplomacy were meant to be separated from the Lithuanian and Polish Metricas and systematized. (The remaining loose documents, books, etc. would end up in the Imperial Public Library several years later) One official was appointed by the Senate to speed up the work, while the Collegium of Foreign Affairs provided seven assistants (among them were three translators). The task was carried out in May, 1798, while in October, both metricas were handed over in parts to imperial institutions. A majority were taken to the Senate (Department III), a smaller portion (according to some data there were seven Lithuanian legation books, other records indicate eleven or twelve) went to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs (known as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1802), from where the legation books and some documents ended up at the Ministry's Chief Archives in Moscow in 1828 (*Moskovskii glavnyi arkhiv ministerstva inostrannykh del*).

Jegor Kirschbaum oversaw the organization and systematization of both metricas. The first summary (register, list, inventory) of the requisitioned archives of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has been named after him in some specialist literature. The archive was divided into four parts: the Crown Metrica, the Lithuanian Metrica, the Permanent Council books and acts, and published texts (mostly of a legal nature). The Lithuanian Metrica was described applying the Polish, or Crown Metrica's, system—books were arranged chronologically into groups according to the nature of the documents: inscriptions, judicial, sigillata lists (registers of issued, stamped documents), provenance and land survey books, and public affairs—a total of 595 books. In addition, there were 249 new books that belonged to the Lithuanian Metrica (unbound, mostly from the second half of the eighteenth century), and thirty loose files in document boxes or "cartons" (fourteen) and bundles (sixteen).[1] The reorganization carried out in Saint Petersburg served as the model based on which the Lithuanian Metrica books were systematized in Russia's archives. The result was Ptaszycki's *Inventory* (fig. 19), mentioned numerous times already in this book. In addition, Kirschbaum's inventory clearly shows that the Lithuanian Metrica did not "dissolve" in Poland's archive, but made up a separate complex consisting of the so-called old and new books.

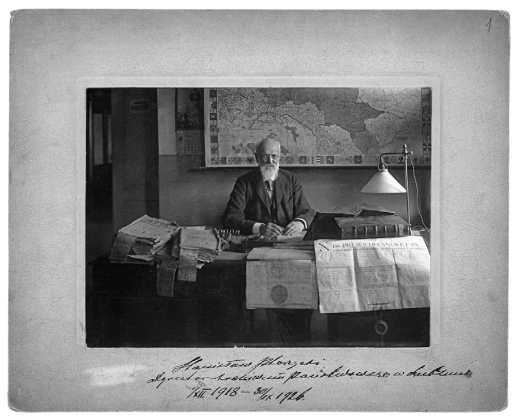

Figure 19. *Professor Stanisław Ptaszycki (1853–1933), director of the State Archives in Lublin in 1918–1926 (Poland).* (35/1479/0 – Archiwum państwowe w Lublinie 1918–1939 [1940–1965], sygn. 20, s. 1)

1 From Daniłowicz's Preface, see *Kniga posol'skaia*, iv–v, x–xi, xviii; Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 14–15; Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 107–108; Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 17–19.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Lithuanian Metrica served an important practical purpose—it satisfied the demands of the population in the annexed Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian territories, for example, to find evidence confirming their noble status, to check the legitimacy of the demands from the new provinces placed on legal entities to make contributions to the imperial treasury, the rights and privileges of natural persons, and so forth. Thus, under the leadership of the minister for justice, in 1803–1805 the Senate Metrica Expedition of Annexed Provinces continued with the reorganization and inventory work. Stefan Kozell, who was appointed as *metrykant*, and two Senate chancellery officials as his assistants undertook this task. They compiled several auxiliary summaries of the Lithuanian and Crown Metricas in Russian. Summary no. 3 contained location names compiled from both Metricas with references to where they appeared in the books (according to the stored item and page), summary no. 4 had a list of locations in the Hrodno, Minsk, and Vilnius districts (*powiats*) with book references and short document annotations in Polish, summary no. 5 contained similar content, only concerned the former West Ukrainian palatinates. In summaries no. 6 and no. 7 Kozell's work group described the documents in the Lithuanian Metrica Inscriptions and Judicial books. (We can still see names and locations underlined by this work group in several Metrica books) In this way, the complex of Lithuanian Metrica books started being applied for practical, rather than scientific, use.[2]

Now a foreign state's archive taken over by Russia, it was left in the chancellery of the Senate's III Department for a long time as the "Metrica Expedition of the Annexed Provinces" (fig. 20) in, according to Vytautas Merkys, the First Division of this Department where the *metrykant* and his two assistants worked. The Imperial Senate's III Department and its First Division worked as a first court of appeal for civilian cases and complaints coming from the provinces of the former Polish and Lithuanian state's territories. There was no shortage of appeals made to the Senate, as a result of the new circumstances—the Napoleonic period of 1812, the 1831 uprising, and the so-called liquidation case over the debts of those who participated in the uprising—the number of claimants grew.[3] As these matters were being

2 Brief instructions for the use of the Lithuanian Metrica were outlined in the imperial decree of June 9, 1805 over the acknowledgement of expedition reports. See Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 17–19; Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 109–110.

3 V. Merkys, *Simonas Daukantas* (Vilnius: Vyturys, 1991), 72.

dealt with, a new problem regarding the practical use of the Lithuanian Metrica documents arose—the falsification of ennoblement documents.

Figure 20. *Saint Petersburg. Palace of the Russian Imperial Senate.* (Photograph by Aleksei Andronov)

According to the imperial decree of December, 1833, the minister of justice had to recheck the Metrica books, and to cross through any pages or parts thereof that were blank, to thread string through book blocks and stamp them, and to bind any loose documents into books. These tasks were carried out in 1835–1837.[4] Anyone at least slightly familiar with the books of the Lithuanian Metrica can notice the fruits of this commission's labor among the pages: pages entirely or partly left blank are crossed through, work-related comments in the margins, books blocks threaded through with string and stamped. The commission created a detailed inventory—the main documentary record of the Lithuanian and Crown Metricas, which has incidentally, gone missing. This was an extended version of Kirschbaum's inventory, only instead of several chapters now there

4 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 19–20; J. Jankowska, "O tak zwanej Metryce Litewskiej w zasobie Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie," *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 32 (1960): 35–36; Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 111–112.

were twelve, based on the types of books and documents featured in each one. The chapters covered 1,048 books, 393 old acts, fifty genealogies, and nineteen maps.[5] Both Metricas, the Lithuanian and the Crown, were integrated into one collection, however, in the chapters they still remained as separate autonomous sets of books and documents. When releasing his mentioned *Inventory* in 1887, Ptaszycki called the whole collection the Lithuanian Metrica, obviously, not reflecting its content. The term Ptaszycki's Summary or *Inventory* became established in reference to this publication in academic scholarship.

We could guess that the commission consisted of the Metrica officials at the time: the *metrykant* Franciszek Malewski (1800–1870),[6] and his assistant Franciszek Czarnocki (1757–1842). Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864), who transferred from the Senate's I Department to the III Department on March 17, 1837 to work as the *metrykant*'s assistant, would not have participated in this commission's work yet, but he did contribute to and signed the new summary of some of the Crown and Lithuanian Metrica acts produced in 1839.[7]

Very early on, in 1805, the executive government of the Russian Empire started to dismantle the integrity of the archive of the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. When specialists determined that according to their content, single historical documents did not correlate with the files attributed to the Senate, Count Aleksandr Stroganov (1733–1811), the director of the Imperial Public Library, learned in the arts, a collector, and patron, saw that the "Polish charters" would be taken over by the library's "Manuscripts Depot" in 1807.[8] The Depot's head, Piotr Dubrovski (1754–1816), removed a great deal of important material from the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland, the Załuski library and other single documents in 1806–1809.[9] For example, the thirty-six Lithuanian documents that Ignacy Daniłowicz lists in the appendices to the "Legation

5 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 19–20; Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 111–112.

6 Merkys, *Simonas Daukantas*, 73.

7 Jankowska, "O tak zwanej Metryce Litewskiej," 36–37.

8 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 16.

9 T. N. Kopreeva, "Obzor pol′skikh rukopisei Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi Biblioteki (Sobranie P. P. Dubrovskogo)." *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi Biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina* 5 (1958): 137–165; M. M. Krom, "Radzivillovskie akty v fondakh Rossisskoi natsional′noi biblioteki: perspektivy izucheniia i publikatsii," in *Lietuvos Metrika: 1991–1996 metų tyrinėjimai* (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1998), 229–234, Moricheva, *Biblioteka Zaluskikh i Rossiskaia natsional′naia biblioteka*, 77.

Books" included the border treaty between Algirdas and Kęstutis with Livonia of 1367, Vytautas's oaths of vassalage (1388–1389), the Treaty of Raciąż between Jogaila and the grand master of the Teutonic Order (May 22, 1404), and the truce between Skirgaila and the Livonian grand master (July 1, 1387),[10] while Ptaszycki indicated fifty papal bulls, 314 Livonian acts, all the acts concerning Cossacks, and documents in Polish.[11] Even today there is still a great deal of material related to Lithuania and Poland kept in the Dubrovski collection at the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg and in certain other collections: four Lithuanian Metrica books formed from sixteenth-century Muscovite legation books,[12] a manuscript of statutes of the Lithuanian Tribunal from 1581, a fragment of a GDL military census from 1528, documents concerning the cities of Vilnius and Minsk, documents on the history of the union between Lithuania and Poland, and so on.

> A question regarding the oldest document contained in this old Lithuanian state archive arises when analyzing its dismantlement: the border treaty signed by Algirdas and Kęstutis with Livonia dating to November 7, 1367.[13] It is currently at the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD); after World War I, the Republic of Poland appropriated this

10 From Daniłowicz's Preface, see *Kniga posol'skaia*, xix, 461–467; I. Daniłowicz, *Skarbiec diplomatów papieskich, cesarskich, królewskich, książęcych; uchwał narodowych, postanowień różnych władz i urzędów posługujących do krytycznego wyjaśnienia dziejów Litwy, Rusi Litewskiej i ościennych im krajów* 1 (Vilnius: w drukarni A. H. Kirkora, 1860), no. 437, 503, 504, 516, **534**, 545, 546, 550, **552**, 554, 555, 561, 566, 567, 611, **735**, 791. The list of removed documents is not complete. The documents in bold are mentioned in a late sixteenth-century inventory of documents kept at the treasury, see: *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 1 (1380–1584). Užrašymų knyga 1*, A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius eds. (Vilnius, 1998), no. 1 (=534), 2 (=735), 4 (=552).

11 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 16.

12 K. V. Petrov, "K izucheniiu sbornikov s dokumentami XVI–nach. XVII v. iz sobraniia RNB (Q.IV.70. Ch. 1–4)," in *Opyty po istochnikovedeniiu. Drevnerusskaia knizhnost': arkheografiia, paleografiia, kodikologiia* (Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Dmitriia Budanina, 1999), 77–78, 85–86, 91–92, 95–96. In the late eighteenth century, four books of Muscovite legation documents from the Polish-Lithuanian wars with Russia at the beginning of the seventeenth century that had been taken from Moscow to Vilnius were compiled and bound. I thank Sergei Polekhov and R. Ragauskienė for their bibliographic assistance.

13 A. Litskevich, "Dagavory pamizh kniaziami VKL, nobiliami Zhamoitsi i pradstaunikami Teutonskaga ordena u Prusii i Livonii (1367–1398)," *Arche. Pachatok. Grunval'd: 1410–2010* 10 (2010): 104–106.

Lithuanian document from Bolshevik Russia, along with others like it, as if it were its own. (fig. 21)

In 1884, Ptaszycki found sixteen document summary *sumariusz* books compiled in Warsaw in 1747–1750 from certain Lithuanian Metrica books.[14] Much of the material of Polish origins ended up in the library after Russia transported some of the collections from the Czartoryski Library in Puławy after the 1830–1831 uprising. According to the records of provenance on the manuscript, Ptaszycki indicated that the summary and the whole Lithuanian Metrica was transported to Saint Petersburg in 1795, but not from Puławy, and later ended up at the Library of the Russian General Staff. It is worthwhile taking a closer look at this information, as Sułkowska-Kurasiowa did not draw attention to this comment made by Ptaszycki, and mistakenly claimed that the summary was from Puławy.[15]

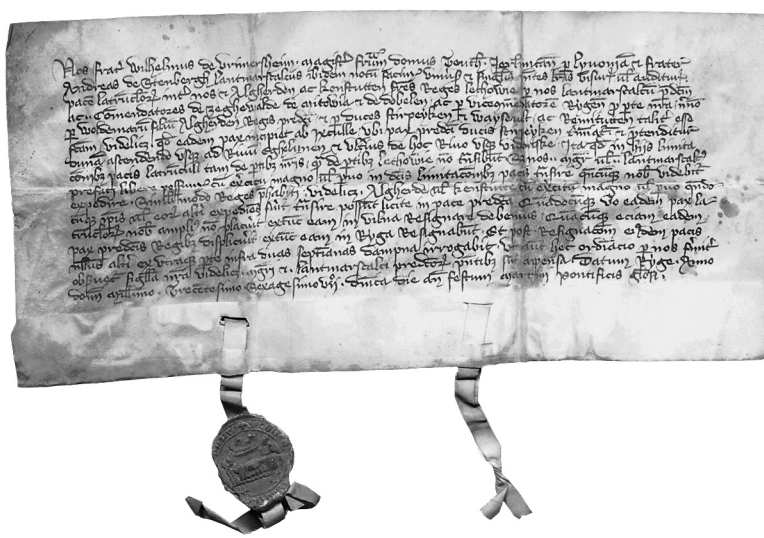

Figure 21. *Treaty of the Lithuanian kings Algirdas and Kęstutis with the Livonian Order of November 7, 1367.* (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych nr 4526)

14 Ptaszycki, "Sumariusz i inwentarze Metryki Litewskiej," 31. The Inventory was given to Poland in 1930. See P. Bańkowski, "Powrót do kraju po stu latach. Rewindykacja rękopisów z b. Biblioteki Sztabu Głównego w Petersburgu, wywiezionych z Polski po upadku powstania listopadowego," *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 8 (1930), 3.

15 Ptaszycki, "Sumarjusz i inwentarze Metryki Litewskiej," 32–33; Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 95–97.

As the Senate's departments were being closed down or reorganized, in 1887 the Metrica was taken from Saint Petersburg to the archive of the Ministry of Justice in Moscow (*Moskovskii arkhiv ministerstva iustitsii*)—these are the 1,048 books, 393 acts, fifty genealogical diagrams, and nineteen maps from the Lithuanian and Crown Metricas. Researchers only usually stated this fact without giving any reasons, however, the recently released paper on the history of this archive by Leonid Shokhin allows us to more or less identify what they were. First of all, if we go back to the end of the nineteenth century, the practical significance of the Lithuanian Metrica in Saint Petersburg started to diminish, however its scientific value increased. Secondly, and probably most importantly, the quite rushed transfer was directly related to the expansion of the archive of the Ministry of Justice in Moscow, where the establishment of the new archival collection in a building just recently constructed specifically for keeping an archive guaranteed the appointment of new staff positions (fig. 22).[16] The transfer itself did not cause any official concerns, as the Senate was part of the Ministry of Justice structure.

Figure 22. *State Russian Archive of Early Acts, 17 Bolshaya Pirogovskaya, Moscow.* (Photograph by Andrei Ryčkov)

16 L. I. Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv ministerstva iustitsii i russkaia istoricheskaia nauka: arkhivisty i istoriki vo vtoroi polovine XIX–nachale XX veka* (Moscow: Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 1999), 125, 274–275.

Thirdly, the idea of its transfer was raised by the energetic and highly initiating director of the archive, Nikolai Kalachiov (1819–1885), when in around 1878–1879 he suggested combining the separate parts of the Lithuanian Metrica into one complex. What he actually had in mind was to combine the Metrica kept by the Senate with the books already in the Chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow,[17] as from 1828 this archive had several dozen Lithuanian Metrica Legation Books. When the Lithuanian Metrica was being established in Moscow from 1888, just about all the important acts and original documents—chapter X of Ptaszycki's *Inventory*—were transferred to the Chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow (351 old acts).[18]

Later, the heads of the Ministry of Justice archive sought to assemble all the Lithuanian Metrica documents and alike into one archive.[19]

Even earlier, the manuscript books and documents of the archive of the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania suffered other mistreatment on the way to Saint Petersburg. Russian researchers show that books and packages containing the archives of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Załuski library were opened en route by the educator, historian, and bibliophile Tadeusz Czacki (1765–1813), who proceeded to remove some of the more valuable publications—almost 30,000 books. Publications from the Załuski library were later discovered at a Warsaw library, at the Kremenec Lyceum Czacki founded, and at his manor.[20] He appropriated some items from the Polish and Lithuanian state archives, and this material later ended up among the Czartoryski collections in Puławy. The documents were included into the collections of the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków,[21]

17 Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv*, 273.

18 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 23 (the author has attributed the documents to the Crown archive, however, everyone who has familiarized themselves with the list strongly doubts this; for the list, see: Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 209–263); Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 113; E. Banionis, "Pratarmė," *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5*, 31. All the loose acts were transferred from here to Poland in 1923, see: ibid., 32.

19 In 1896–1897, Dovnar-Zapolski was sent to the Chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and to Warsaw to search for documents from the same period as the Lithuanian Metrica. See Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv*, 280–281.

20 Zaitsev, *Perekrestki istorii*, 9. Historian Ignacy Żegota Onacewicz noted that Czacki had collected historical documents his whole life, both in legitimate and illegitimate ways, see N. N. Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii i istochnikovedeniiu istorii Belorussii feodal'nogo perioda* (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), 35 (from note 44, see pages 34–35).

21 Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 96.

which explains why there is so much material here from the archive of the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Another wound to the Lithuanian Metrica came from Russia in 1799, when, in the spirit of the partitioning of the Polish-Lithuanian state, it transferred a significant part of the Crown Metrica to Prussia as the sovereign of some of the annexed Polish territories. Twenty-nine volumes of the oldest sixty-two books of the Lithuanian Metrica that had been transliterated into Latin (the Cyrilic letters in documents were replaced with Latin ones, maintaining elements of Polish lettering) in the second half of the eighteenth century, six other books, as well as other Polish archival material, was taken to Prussia. After the Treaty of Tilsit of 1807, this material was transferred to the General Land Archive of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1808—now known as the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (*Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych*).[22] Forty-four books from Kirschbaum's inventory of the Permanent Council's files were also taken there as part of the Crown Metrica (chapter VII in Ptaszycki's *Inventory*), despite the fact that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been ruled by two political nations since 1569—both Poles and Lithuanians. The attribution of these books to Poland, as well as many of the new books from chapter IX of Ptaszycki's *Inventory* some time later,[23] is arguable. In 1895–1898, Polish archivists recovered forty-five Crown Metrica books according to chapters II (Judicial Books) and III (Books of Public Affairs) from Ptaszycki's *Inventory* to Warsaw from Moscow.[24] Archival material that originated from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was not part of this collection.

The archive of the early Lithuanian state with the Lithuanian Metrica, its most important part, was savagely dismantled in Russia, parts were possibly even stolen, its various sections were scattered between archives and libraries in several imperial cities—Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw,

22 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 15–16; Jankowska, "O tak zwanej Metryce Litewskiej," 33–34; Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 94, 96; Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 18; Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 108; K. Pietkiewicz, "Originaliosios Lietuvos Metrikos knygos Vyriausiojo senųjų aktų archyvo Varšuvoje fonde 'Vadinamoji Lietuvos Metrika'," *Lietuvos Metrikos naujienos* 11 (2009): 26–29.

23 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 48–49, 52–55.

24 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 23; Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 113.

with one book accidentally finding its way to Vilnius.[25] The looting of the annexed Polish and Lithuanian state archives made Russia an empire of Central and East European historical source collections.

Following the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Russia, the Lithuanian Metrica was given the collection record number 389 (in 1939), and the several archive reforms carried out in 1918 meant that the archive of the Ministry of Justice became the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts in 1941, or *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov* (currently known as the State Russian Archive of Early Acts, *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov*). In 1952, the order of the books in the collection that had corresponded with the chapters in Ptaszycki's *Inventory* was changed to a direct numbering of the books: 1–25, and 27–586; the physical order of the books was not altered. Before long, in 1954, the Lithuanian Metrica Legation Books (587–601) and sixty-two documents (bound as books by imperial Russian archivists: 602–662 (665?)) that had been kept in the former Chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were placed together with those in collection 389. Besides the Lithuanian Metrica, collection 389 also contains loose acts and fragments of other history sources, which have been attributed to the Lithuanian Metrica or have been associated with it.[26]

The Lithuanian Metrica in State Relations between Bolshevik Russia and the Restored Lithuanian and Polish States after World War I

Once they had liberated themselves from Russia after World War I, the renewed old Lithuanian and Polish states tried to recover the former empire's plundered cultural treasures. Even before the declaration of independence, members of the Lithuanian Council raised the matter (in January, 1918) of trying to take back Lithuania's cultural treasures from Russia,

25 A. Dubonis, "Lietuvos Metrikos knyga Vilniuje," *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis* (2000): 425–428.

26 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica*," 30–31, 62–63; Avtokratova and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 114; E. Banionis, "Pratarmė," in *Lietuvos Metrika (1427–1506). Knyga Nr. 5*, 31–32. Kennedy Grimsted believes that collection 389 must have over 700 units of archival material. See Kennedy Grimsted, "Czym jest i czym była," 76, though not including the thirty Rus´ian (Volhynian) Metrica books incorporated into the Lithuanian Metrica in Russia, which once belonged to the Crown Metrica, see ibid., 78–79.

listing the Lithuanian Metrica archive as their top priority.[27] However, this requirement only really started to take shape in July, 1920 when the peace treaty was signed with Bolshevik Russia. Article IX of the treaty foresaw the return of cultural and scientific treasures, archives, and other property to Lithuania that had been removed (evacuated) in 1914–1917.[28] Two conditions made the recovery of the Lithuanian Metrica from Moscow a difficult, and, as it became apparent later on, insurmountable task. First, the Lithuanians and Bolsheviks agreed that the return of national treasures removed up to 1914 would not result in major harm to Russia's archives. Combined commissions were meant to be formed to decide what material could be discharged, with an equal number of members from each involved country. Second, treasures and archives taken from various institutions had to be returned if they were related to the territory of the Lithuanian state. Moscow's negotiators creatively exploited this convenient condition when it came to the return of the Lithuanian Metrica, as in the negotiations over the return of the removed treasures, as far as Russia was concerned, Lithuania without Vilnius and the Vilnius Region in 1921–1922 was only the "Lithuanian Republic of Kaunas."

The Lithuanian Metrica belonged to those early Lithuanian state archives that were taken away to Russia before 1914, so according to the requirements in Article IX of the mentioned agreement, the matter was to go before a combined commission for discussion. One of the expert Lithuanian members of the commission, Paulius Galaunė (1890–1988), immediately understood that "there is not the slightest hope that any of those historic Lithuanian treasures shall ever be recovered."[29] Demands were made at a meeting of the combined commission on May 14, 1921 to return the Lithuanian Metrica to Lithuania.[30] During the heated and emotional negotiations, Russian commission experts Professor Vladimir Picheta (1878–1947)[31] and Professor Sergei Shambinago (1871–1948) (in

27 Z. Kiaupa, *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių kelionės iki 1990 m.* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2006), 76–77.

28 *Vyriausybės žinios*, November 30, 1920, no. 53, 1–11; see, with commentary, in Kiaupa, *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių*, 83–85.

29 P. Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros turtų likimas," *Mūsų žinynas. Karo mokslo ir istorijos žurnalas* 4, no. 10–11 (1923): 78–79.

30 Ibid., 80–86.

31 Picheta participated as an expert in preparing Article XI of the Polish and Bolshevik peace treaty of 1921 regarding the return of Poland's cultural treasures. See M. F. Shumeika (as M. F. Shumeiko), Arkhivno-arkheograficheskaia deiatel'nost'

other negotiations, Professor Matvei Liubavskii also participated) raised scientific counterarguments to prove that the Lithuanian Metrica could not be given to the Republic of Lithuania. Picheta argued that: a) in its existing configuration, only ten percent (when Galaunė contested this amount, the professors "gave in" to thirty percent) was Lithuanian material, and could be attributed to the Lithuanian Republic of Kaunas, so based on this territorial criterion, it actually belonged to Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus;[32] b) Moscow was an early center for research and publishing of the Lithuanian Metrica; c) there was no one in Lithuania "qualified" to work with the Metrica.[33] Following Galaunė's strict outburst, Shambinago called him an insolent gymnasium student, and asserted that Lithuania's name had been attributed to the "Russian-Ukrainian idea alive in the Lithuanian state's collection of documents" by accident.[34] Galaunė lamented that he lacked the knowledge and experience to defend the return of the Lithuanian Metrica. He condemned the Lithuanian government for not giving the combined negotiating commission the necessary political support and for not appointing more experienced experts.[35] Some minor support came from the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The legal consultants S. Bieliackin, V. Boyev, and J. Zabielski provided specific and strong judicial documents in Russian, so-called "conclusions," to justify Lithuania's rights to the Metrica on July 1, 1921; for example, they claimed that Lithuania was the only legitimate heir to the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and that the smaller territorial area of the present-day Republic of Lithuania could not minimize or even alter Lithuania's right to ownership of the Metrica.[36] Lithuania's negotiators were backed by Jewish historians and public activists, Professor Shimon Dubnov, Professor Julius Bruckus, and Benzion Katz, with the advice of the Lithuanian negotiating delegation's member, S. Goldberg.[37]

V. I. Pichety k 130-letiiu so dnia rozhdenia)," *Rossiiskie i slavianskie issledovaniia* 4 (2009): 235–237. Similarities between Article XI in the Polish treaty and the Lithuanian equivalent (1920), Article XI, suggests that Picheta participated in drafting the latter as well.

32 On May 21, 1921, the head of the Belarusian Council of People's Commissars sent a notice to the Russian archive leadership informing them that a majority of the Lithuanian Metrica documents originated from Belarusian territory, and thus had to be transferred to Belarus alone. See ibid., 237 (note 6).

33 Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros turtų," 88–96.

34 Ibid., 90.

35 Ibid., 91–92.

36 Ibid., 92–94.

37 Ibid., 97–99.

Bruckus suggested to the Lithuanians to try to reach an agreement over the return of at least some of the Lithuanian Metrica books, dividing it into central general institution and district documents: The whole first part of the Metrica was meant to return to Vilnius (the Books of Inscriptions and Legation Books), as well as all the other original documents that were not from Ukrainian or Belarusian districts—in other words, historic Lithuanian relics.[38] Nonetheless, the Lithuanians adhered to the principle of seeing the Metrica returned in its entirety.

Two behind-the-scenes negotiation factors demeaned Lithuania's chances of negotiating the return of its desired cultural values. Firstly, Moscow's chekists were following the negotiations in 1921 (the Russian "Special Commission" secret police, *Cherezvychaynaya komisija*, ChK, under the command of Felix Dzerzhinsky). In May, the combined commission's member V. Ter-Oganesov unofficially admitted he was actually trying to avoid the negative opinions of the chekists by not wanting to grant Galaunė permission (a mandate) to check the Rumiantsev Museum's inventory books and catalogues for treasures from the "Vilnius Antiques Museum".[39] In this unofficial comment, Ter-Oganesov also admitted that they did not want to "create a pretext for the Poles."[40] Galaunė's vague phrase was probably meant to indicate that there was no desire to create a precedent by which the Poles would try to recover their tangible cultural treasures that had been taken away as early as in 1772. Thus, the Polish factor also influenced the second strict stance taken by Moscow ("we shall not give anything back"), in addition to its strong arguments backed by science, its role as a powerful historic custodian and productive researcher and its territorial arguments. Poland, which had occupied Vilnius, was laying claim to the tangible cultural heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[41] In the summer of 1921, as indicated in Bruckus's memo of July 7 to the Lithuanian representatives in the combined commission, the question of the Poles' demands had already been raised in the negotiations. As a separate clause, Bruckus noted that if the Metrica would not be returned to Lithuania, then according to the strict requirement in Point 4, Article XI of

38 Ibid., 99–100.
39 Ibid., 86.
40 Ibid., 86.
41 Kiaupa, *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių*, 89.

the Treaty of Riga between Poland and Russia (1921), it would have to be returned to Warsaw.[42]

At the first meeting of the Polish and Russian special and re-evacuation combined commissions on October 7–8, 1921, in their memorandum to the commission members, the Polish delegates demanded of the Russian members to return the Lithuanian Metrica and other historical archive collections of the Polish state, that is, without any scruples, the Metrica was attributed to the archival heritage of the Polish state.[43] Russian negotiators refused to return it and some other archives. Their official reasoning was that the composite parts of the archives that were demanding to be returned were from those territories that were not given to the Republic of Poland in the Treaty of Riga.[44] In a secret announcement by the Bolshevik commission for the return of Polish cultural treasures, the chairman and diplomat Piotr Voykov said that the Lithuanian Metrica had nothing in common with the Polish state—it had a greater association with Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine, and if it were not returned to Lithuania, it should be kept in Moscow.[45] Ultimately, from 1923, aside from other archival material, 417 books, fifty genealogies, and nineteen maps were transferred to Warsaw from the Lithuanian Metrica archival collection formed in the nineteenth century, comprising of the annexed archives of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Three hundred and eighty-nine original documents were taken from the former Chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[46] Even though most of the books taken to Warsaw were part of the Crown Metrica, some books, no less than eight, were of Lithuanian origins.[47]

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42 This is related to the treaty clause for the treasures to be returned whose origins were not related to the territory of the Republic of Poland at the time. See Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros turtų," 99.

43 D. Matelski, "Rewindykacja polskich dóbr kultury z Rosji Radzieckiej i ZSSR (1921–1939)," *Przegląd Wschodni* 8, no. 2 (2002): 393.

44 Ibid., 395–396.

45 Ibid., 396–397.

46 See note 18; Jankowska, "O tak zwanej Metryce Litewskiej," 43.

47 Avtokrativa and Svetenko, "K voprosu," 113–114. They can be found based on Kennedy Grimsted's references in the reprint of Ptaszycki's *Inventory*, see Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 25; reprint of Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 84 (no. 26), 113 (no. 5), 152 (no. 28), 165 (no. 2, 6, 7), 167 (no. 24, 29); Kennedy Grimsted, "Czym jest i czym była," 72–74. Professor Jonynas grew very agitated when he did not find these volumes in the Lithuanian Metrica collection in October, 1926. See A. Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos Metrikos negrąžinimo istorija: intarpai Lietuvos ir SSRS diplomatinių santykių mozaikai," *Naujasis Židinys-Aidai* 3 (March 1996): 119. At

In April, 1922, the work of the combined Lithuanian and Soviet Russian expert commissions for the return of cultural treasures was terminated. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs considered the negotiations unpromising (in a note of protest to Lithuania dated November 23, 1922) until the so-called Vilnius question would be resolved.[48] The factor of who had rights to Vilnius was convenient for the Soviets to use against both negotiating parties in the Russian Bolshevik government's political balancing act over the return of Poland's and Lithuania's tangible cultural treasures. After the meeting of the Lithuanian and Soviet Russian delegations concerning the return of cultural treasures on August 18, 1921, Galaunė heard the unofficial opinion of the Russian delegation's experts, Professor Liubavskii and Professor Picheta. Both unilaterally agreed that the Lithuanian Metrica, the Vilnius University archive, and other material would most certainly be returned if the Republic of Lithuania would have had control over its own capital at the time. They did not want the treasures to fall into the hands of the Poles—sooner or later, the Metrica would be in Vilnius. Both historians alleged that they could not imagine any other option.[49] It is presumed that Professor Liubavskii spoke more openly in a semiofficial capacity to Józef Siemieński, a member of the combined special Polish commission formed in accordance with the 1921 Treaty of Riga with Soviet Russia for the return of Polish cultural treasures. Harnessing Russian imperialist and nationalist arguments, the latter demeaned Lithuania's statehood and justified Russia's rights to the heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's cultural treasures: He alleged that "Lithuania was but a formal geographic-historical concept, basically, a statehood [concept] based on Russian lands, that is, the rule should follow a different logic: The archives of ethnographic Poland should be given to the Republic of Poland, and the historic archives of Poland's Russian lands should go to the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist republics."[50] If the cultural heritage of Lithuania, a land of Russian statehood, belonged to Russia, that meant Lithuania could not be considered Polish either based on ethnographic nor statehood criteria, so nor could the Vilnius Region

this time, negotiations between the USSR and Lithuania were taking place regarding the non-aggression pact.

48 Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros turtų," 353; Kiaupa, *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių*, 90.

49 Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros turtų," 107.

50 J. Siemieński, "Rewindykacja archiwów koronnych. Przygotowanie naukowe ị wyniki," *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 1 (1927): 40–41.

be considered a part of Poland geographically or historically, just like the cultural treasures created there. This opinion given by professional Russian historians, which played a key role in entrenching Soviet Russia's position in the (failed) return of Poland's and Lithuania's historical archives and other cultural heritage objects, was further confirmed by Professor Picheta. At the first Conference of Belarusian SSR Archivists held on May 12–14, 1924, he revealed that the Soviet government's reasoning for not returning the Lithuanian Metrica and other archives to Lithuanians was that the Vilnius Region occupied by the Poles was not within their control, and conversely, as an outcome of the Vilnius question, they were not about to return certain Lithuanian cultural treasures to the Poles (who wanted the Lithuanian Metrica and the treasures from Vilnius University and the Vilnius Antiques Museum).[51] At this conference, the Belarusians demanded not to return the Lithuanian Metrica to the Poles but to transfer the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the BSSR. The First Congress of Archaeologists and Palaeographers of the Belarusian SSR on January 17–18, 1926 even passed a resolution over the transfer of the Lithuanian Metrica to the Belarusian people.[52]

Thus, Belarus also became actively involved in the division of the historical heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[53] The Poles also tried to fortify their arguments: They sought to draw none other than Lithuania into the matter of taking back the Lithuanian Metrica. In the summer of 1933, Lithuanian historians received an unofficial offer from the Poles, which was transferred via Adolfas Šapoka from the director of the Vilnius archive, Wacław Studnicki. His recommendation was to acknowledge Lithuania and Poland as the heirs to the Lithuanian Metrica, and to keep it in Vilnius on the condition that it would not be removed from the city and would be accessible to everyone. Šapoka appealed to Konstantinas Jablonskis as an expert on archives. Jablonskis considered this offer unacceptable and

51 M. F. Shumeika, "Tsiazhki shliakh viartannia. Namaganni belarusskaga natsyianal′naga aktyvu dzelia zvarotu u Belarus′ arkhiunai spadchyny w 1920-ia gg," *Spadchyna* 6 (1998): 13, 15–16.

52 Ibid., 18–21; idem (as M. F. Shumeiko), "'Strasti po Metrike': popytka sozdaniia v 1920 gg. Mezhdunarodnogo instituta po izucheniiu i publikatsii Litovskoi Metriki," *Belaruski arkheografichnyi shtogodnik* 4 (2003): 3–6.

53 S. V. Zhumar′, D. V. Karev, and M. F. Shumeika (as M. F. Shumeiko), *Ocherki istorii arkhivnogo dela v Belarusi (XV v.–1991 g.)* (Minsk: BelNIIDAD, 1999): 127–129. The Chief Archives of the USSR intended to transfer separate parts of the Lithuanian Metrica archive to Minsk in around 1925–1926, see ibid., 129.

nonnegotiable, because he believed that the Lithuanian Metrica should not be in foreign hands—it had to be in Kaunas.[54]

The Lithuanian government did its homework and very clearly demanded to return the Lithuanian Metrica during the 1925–1926 negotiations with the USSR over the nonaggression pact.[55] During the negotiations, Soviet representatives did not dismiss this demand, they even allowed Professor Ignas Jonynas into the archive to check the Metrica books according to the compiled list, however, unofficially a mutual decision had already been reached to draw out this matter and to not return the Lithuanian Metrica to Lithuania, as became evident later on.[56] Nonetheless, the Lithuanian delegation's firm position forced the Soviet government to take up a defensive stance. The USSR People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs obliged the respective Belarusian SSR structures to demand the return of the Metrica to Minsk. In a letter dated November 9, 1926 to the head of the Baltic Division of the Soviet Union People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Belarus, A. Adamovich, said that based on the announcement of Professor Picheta, the Belarusians asked not to give the Lithuanian Metrica to Lithuania because the Belarusian SSR had all the historical and practical rights to the archive itself.[57] The Russian Bolshevik government did not see the political necessity of returning cultural treasures to Lithuania,[58] thereby also laying to rest the tactical "return avoidance" trick it had devised—the idea of establishing an international Lithuanian Metrica research institute.[59]

The Lithuanian government did not give up and persistently renewed its demands to the Soviet Union to return the Lithuanian Metrica and other cultural treasures. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the treaty between Lithuania and Bolshevik Russia of 1920, in the summer of 1930 the Lithuanian ambassador in Moscow Jurgis Baltrušaitis, authorized by the government, tried in vain to renew negotiations and force the Soviet government to keep its earlier promises, and return the archives on which agreement had been reached during the negotiations back in 1921.[60] In

54 L. Anužytė, "Konstantinas Jablonskis ir Lietuvos Metrika," *Konstantinas Jablonskis ir istorija*, ed. E. Rimša (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2005), 36.
55 Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos Metrikos," 116.
56 Ibid., 116–118, 121–122.
57 Ibid., 122; Shumeika, "Strasti po Metrike," 5.
58 Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos Metrikos," 124.
59 Ibid., 122–123.
60 Ibid., 124.

1933 the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Baltrušaitis coordinated their actions regarding seeing the Lithuanian cultural treasures in Moscow and their eventual return. Jablonskis was to be sent to Moscow. His stay in Moscow was not very productive, as the Soviet government and archivists did all they could to see that during the ten days in August he spent there, the Lithuanian historian would only have the chance to leaf through eight Lithuanian Metrica books.[61]

As the collective of Lithuanian historians grew and developed in the renewed Lithuania, and as the lack of history sources started to be more acutely felt, attempts were made in 1934, 1936, and 1937 to organize the creation of microfilms of the Lithuanian Metrica books or the photocopying of the required documents. However, the Soviet bureaucracy behaved very adversely, rejecting any requests of this nature or not carrying through with any of its approved applications.[62] After all these attempts to recover Lithuania's archives from the Soviet Union, Jablonskis was left with the unpleasant conclusion publicized in December, 1937: After 1933 it had become impossible to negotiate with the USSR regarding the return of the Lithuanian Metrica and other looted treasures.[63] In his opinion, this was the outcome of the communist government's stance to seek Lithuania's vassal dependence, later—its incorporation. He urged to continue seeking the recovery of the Lithuanian Metrica, even though in the opinion of other historians, such as the head of the History Department of Antanas Smetona's Lithuanian Institute, Professor Jonynas (1939), the first concern had to be accessing it.[64] The government tried to engage in discussions for the return of the Lithuanian Metrica again in 1938. Authorized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ambassador Baltrušaitis raised this question with the Soviet foreign affairs minister Maksim Litvinov, who viewed it as one to be discussed. Baltrušaitis was promised permission to view the Metrica on site.[65] The last time the USSR was reminded of failing to return the Metrica came in the form of the Lithuanian notice of complaint dated December 13, 1939 concerning the transport of collections from historical archives and the Wróblewski Library in Vilnius to Minsk in October of that

61 V. Merkys, *Konstantinas Jablonskis* (Vilnius: Šviesa, 1991), 81–85.

62 Ibid., 86–87.

63 K. Jablonskis, "Informacinis pranešimas apie Lietuvos istorinius archyvus SSSR," *Proskyna* 3 (1990): 167–168.

64 Anužytė, "Konstantinas Jablonskis," 38.

65 Merkys, *Konstantinas Jablonskis*, 88–89.

year, when the city, being a part of Poland's territory, had been occupied by the Red Army.[66]

When the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania and commenced to create a Soviet state science framework, Jablonskis was appointed the director of the Institute of History of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences. Making the most of the new circumstances and his position, in May, 1941 he appealed to the president of the LSSR Academy of Sciences to take up the challenge to see the Soviet government acknowledge that the Lithuanian Metrica and certain other archival collections would be recognized as important to historical studies in the Lithuanian SSR, and to appeal to the USSR government for their return (fig. 23). The collections Jablonskis requested were not returned.[67] Incidentally, that year many of the old books of acts from the Vilnius Central Archive did return to Vilnius,[68] which Lithuania did try to recover, albeit unsuccessfully, in 1921; more documents followed later on.[69]

Figure 23. *Academic Konstantinas Jablonskis (1892–1960).* (Painted by Julija Petkevičienė, from the family collection)

66 *SSSR i Litva v gody Vtoroi Mirovoi voiny*, vol. 1: *SSSR i Litovskaia Respublika (mart 1939–avgust 1940 gg.). Sbornik dokumentov*, ed. A. Kasparavičius, Č. Laurinavičius, N. Lebedeva (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2006), no. 100 (395–397).

67 Anužytė, "Konstantinas Jablonskis," 39–40.

68 Kiaupa, *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių*, 110.

69 The famous archive specialist Sigitas Jegelevičius described the amount of recovered material using the term "absolute majority." See S. Jegelevičius, "Lietuvos Metrika: kada ir kaip į Lietuvą pateko jos mikrofilmai," *Naujasis Židinys-Aidai* 4 (1999): 174.

Only after World War II, in the 1950s, did Professor Jablonskis finally make over one hundred important microfilm images of the Lithuanian Metrica books and bring them to Lithuania.[70] Later, all the microfilm negatives of the books were acquired by the Lithuanian State History Archive thanks to the efforts of Domas Būtėnas and Sigitas Jegelevičius. Otherwise blacklisted for his association with the NKVD, Eusiejus Rozauskas (1907–1990), who was then the head of the Lithuanian SSR archival institutions, is also to be commended for his efforts in this microfilm story.[71] According to existing information, in an official meeting in 1967 he was the last figure in Soviet Lithuania to have tried to prove to the head of the Chief Archives Board of the USSR, Genadii Belov, that the Lithuanian Metrica and post-Jesuit manor documents could be kept in Vilnius, in the new archive building on Gerosios Vilties Street. However, his superior's negative answer was categorical: The matter was clear and should never be raised again, neither in writing nor orally, accentuating the fact with much finger-wagging and "to get it straight."[72]

At present we do not know whether the government of the Republic of Lithuania took any steps to recover the tangible cultural treasures still in Russia after the restoration of independence in 1990. Kiaupa's work on this topic suggests that no moves were made in this direction until 2006, when his book was released.[73] On the other hand, Kennedy Grimsted's reaction to the 1992 Lithuanian law on archives shows that Russia still finds this demand annoying.[74] Judging by the reaction of Belarusian scientists, we can also gather that in Russia and Belarus, the realization of Lithuania's aspirations to recover the early Lithuanian archive and certain other treasures is being closely monitored and is viewed negatively.[75]

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70 Anužytė, "Konstantinas Jablonskis," 42. Jablonskis's copies are kept in the manuscript department of the Lithuanian Institute of History library.

71 Jegelevičius, "Lietuvos Metrika," 174–175, especially 175–177.

72 According to Jegelevičius, the phrase was: "*Evsei Avramovich, zarubite eto sebe na nosu*," ibid., 176.

73 Kiaupa, *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių*, 124.

74 Kennedy Grimsted, *Beyond Perestroika*, 105–106; eadem, "Proiskhozhdenie dokumentov," 21–22; Jegelevičius, "Lietuvos imperinės pretenzijos," 9.

75 M. Shumeika, "Viartanne 'Litovskoi Metryki': mify tsi real′nasts′?," *Belarusskaia minuushchyna. Gistoryka-publitsystychny, iliustravany chasopis* 2 (1996): 55–57.

Chapter 10

Research and Publishing

Up to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

The pioneer in research of the Lithuanian Metrica is considered to be the impressively educated erudite, Piarist monk, and rector of the Vilnius Piarist School (1747), Maciej Dogiel—a Lithuanian noble originally from the Lida district (*powiat*). He prepared an eight-volume anthology of documents of Poland and Lithuania (only three[1] were published), where he also included swathes of material from the state archive of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Three decades later, three documents from the Lithuanian Metrica were released as part of an anthology of Vilnius city privileges by the burgomaster, Piotr Dubiński, in 1788. The culture and literary figure, historian and bishop, Adam Naruszewicz (1733–1796), supported by the king and grand duke of Lithuania, Stanisław August, also used a great deal of material from the Lithuanian Metrica in his work, *History of the Polish Nation*. His 217-volume document anthology, now known as the Naruszewicz Folios—*teki Naruszewicza*,[2] contained even more material. However, this kind of information was accurate only up to the start

1 M. Dogiel, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et M. D. Lithuaniae* vol. 1 (Vilnae, 1758); ibid., vol. 4 (Vilnae, 1764); vol. 5 (Vilnae, 1759); A. L. Khoroshkevich, "K istorii izdaniia i izucheniia Litovskoi Metriki," *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 8 (1973): 72; A. Katilius, "Pervye publikatsii dokumentov LM," in *Litovskaia Metrika: tezisy dokladov mezhrespublikanskoi nauchnoi konferentsii, aprel' 1988 g.,* ed. E. Banionis, Z. Kiaupa, and L. Mulevičius (Vilnius: Institut Istorii AN Litovskoi SSR, 1988), 54–55.

2 P. Dubiński, *Zbiór praw i przywilejów miastu stołecznemu W. X. L. Wilnowi nadanych* (Wilno, 1788); Katilius, "Pervye publikatsii," 55.

of the twenty-first century, before research on the Metrica had developed, especially in Lithuania. Now we know that the first thematic publication of Lithuanian historical sources was the book from 1592, *Cnotliwy Litwin*. It features nine original documents about relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia in the second half of the sixteenth century.[3] Documents had to be directly or indirectly sourced from state structures (the state archive?). Later, Albertas Vijūkas-Kojalavičius (1609–1677), when he wrote his second volume of the history of Lithuania (released in 1669), used a book of Muscovite origins from the second half of the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, *Extract from the Legation Books*. The Extract, like the Lithuanian Metrica, was probably kept in the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until at least the middle of the eighteenth century (in Warsaw in the eighteenth century, it bore the archive registration number 305).[4] Even though it is difficult to ascertain how Vijūkas-Kojalavičius accessed the manuscript, the historian's contacts with high-ranking state and chancellery officials—the very people who looked after the state documents in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—were unquestionable, for example, K. L. Sapieha and the ruler's chancellery regent, J. K. Dowgiałło Zawisza. Naturally, neither of these two examples compare to the scale of document selection or publishing as Dogiel achieved, yet they do point to the developing need in society in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to have reliable, document-backed historical data presented in the most advanced means of distribution at the time—as a printed book.

Count Rumiantsev's Army

The Russian Empire brought an end to the research and publishing of history sources concerning the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the end of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, after a break of a couple of decades, the search for and publication of important and valuable documents recommenced, amid the archives now in Russia. At first, this process took place through

3 D. Antanavičius, "'Cnotliwy Litwin' (1592 m.) autorius ir teksto šaltiniai," *Istorijos šaltinių tyrimai* 4 (2012): 133–155.

4 Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* Appendices, A-4; D. Antanavičius, "Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos pasiuntinybių į Maskvą šaltinis Alberto Vijūko-Kojalavičiaus Lietuvos istorijoje (šaltiniotyrinė archyvinė studija), A. Vijūkas-Kojalavičius," in *Lietuvos istorijos įvairenybės*, ed. Albertas Vijūkas-Kojalavičius, part II (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2004), 310–322.

the personal initiatives of dedicated scientists, Russian educators, and cultural patrons, as this was not a field of particular state interest, just as the king's support for Naruszewicz in the Polish-Lithuanian state had waned. These new document-keepers knew nothing about the material contained in the annexed archives, which only aroused an even deeper thirst to learn what information they held and to publish it; there were hopes that the archive of Lithuania, alleged to be a country of Russian origins, would reveal a wealth of knowledge about the early history of Russia. It was difficult to retrieve documents from the copied books of the Lithuanian Metrica. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this was sometimes a covert activity, often exploiting having a contact as a *metrykant* or their assistant who now administered the Metrica, and paying dearly for the favor. The well-known Russian state activist and educator, Count Nikolai Rumiantsev (1754–1826) and his "academic army" managed in 1820–1822 to collect three volumes of various document copies from the Senate's III Department and the Warsaw archive (now this material, along with other Lithuania-related documents taken from the Rumiantsev museum are kept at the Russian State Library in Moscow, the former USSR State V. I. Lenin Library).[5] Of all of Rumiantsev's "warriors," the main role in securing copies of the Lithuanian Metrica was played by Vasilii Anastasevich (1775–1845), a translator who worked in the Imperial Ministry of Education and Legislation Commission, and a specialist in education and legal affairs in Poland and Lithuania. He was interested in the Lithuanian Metrica and had the opportunity to familiarize himself with its material and use it (for example, he provided scientists with a copy of Kirschbaum's inventory in 1817). In 1817, he translated the paper presented by Polish scientist Walenty Majewski in Warsaw in 1809 about the Crown and Grand Duchy of Lithuania archives,[6] and gave it to his acquaintance, the metropolitan of Pskov, Livonia, and Courland, Jevgeny Bolkhovitinov, to read. The latter recommended Anastasevich to Rumiantsev, who was already developing an interest in the material of the "Polish archive" brought to Saint Petersburg.[7] Even though the stream of copies from the Lithuanian Metrica was quite short-lived, only from 1820

5 Iu. Ankhimiuk, "Litovskaia Metrika i Rumiantsevskii kruzhok," in *Lietuvos Metrika. 1988 metų tyrinėjimai*, ed. E. Banionis, Z. Kiaupa (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1992), 112.

6 W. Majewski, *O słowianch i ich pobratymcach . . .* , cz. 1 (Warszawa, 1816), appendices (from p. 180), i–xviii.

7 Ankhimiuk, "Litovskaia Metrika," 113–119.

to 1822, the material Anastasevich procured from the Senate, plus what K. Busse provided from Warsaw and Ivan Loboika from Dogiel's manuscripts in Vilnius, did end up being publicized in various works and history source publications in 1831–1836, and was supplemented with regularly produced new document copies.[8]

Whilst he was still alive, Rumiantsev financed the publication of history sources compiled by Ivan Grigorovich (1792–1852), an Orthodox cleric who was in his trust, which brought to light several documents from the Lithuanian Metrica.[9] After Rumiantsev's death, a museum was established in Saint Petersburg on the basis of his collection (1831), where, aside from other items, all of his accrued history source copies could be found.

From 1836, the tsarist government already allowed reading the Lithuanian Metrica in the Senate, after submission of a written request and only under the supervision of the *metrykant*. Around thirty interested individuals made use of this right in Saint Petersburg until 1887.[10] One particular imperial Russian government institution, the Archaeographic Commission founded in 1834, grew very interested in publishing the Metrica documents. Soon after its statutes had been confirmed on February 18, 1837, at a meeting held on July 19 of that same year, a decision was made to demand the Senate to allow access to the Lithuanian Metrica documents for the publications the commission was preparing, along with the document copies from the Rumiantsev museum. In June, 1838, the minister of justice released the Lithuanian Metrica books from the Senate's III Department archive on loan to the commission, for the purpose of searching for and publishing material contained within.[11] The assembled documents were released in a five-volume series in 1846–1853 as *The Historical Acts of Western Russia*.[12] They were selected and prepared for publication by

8 These include metropolitan Evgenii's *History of the Duchy of Pskov* (Evgenii, *Istoriia kniazhestva Pskovskogo*, parts 1–4 [Kiev, 1831]); N. Polevoi's *Russian Library* (N. A. Polevoi, *Russkaia vivliofika*, vol. 1 [Moscow, 1833]), *Mukhanov's Collection* (P. A. Mukhanov, *Sbornik Mukhanova* [Moscow, 1836], along with its second supplemented edition [Petersburg, 1866]). For more, see Ankhimiuk, "Litovskaia Metrika," 125–126.

9 I. I. Grigorovich, *Belorusskii arkhiv drevnikh gramot*, part 1 (Moscow, 1824); Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 17–21 (on page 21, note 20 is about the publication's funding); Khoroshkevich, "K istorii izdaniia," 74.

10 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 65–74.

11 Ibid., 65; Ankhimiuk, "Litovskaia Metrika," 126.

12 *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 1: *1340–1506* (Petersburg, 1846); vol. 2: *1506–1544* (Petersburg, 1848),

the mentioned Grigorovich, the protist of the Finnish guard regiment and member of the Archaeographic Commission.[13]

Besides these publishers of the early Lithuanian archive's material, Daniłowicz was also rather industrious in this regard (fig. 24).[14] He had his own document copy suppliers. One, Anastasevich, provided him with a copy of Kirschbaum's inventory in 1817, there was also the *metrykant* Malewski, and Joachim Lelewel, but we shall return to these contacts a little later on. The publishing of the Lithuanian Metrica brought Daniłowicz into contact with Duke Mikhail Obolensky (1805–1873), who worked in the Chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow (from 1839 he was the archive's manager and director) and who had already publicized one Book of Legations (Book 595 according to the current numeration).[15] Later on, Daniłowicz, Obolensky, and other scientists published another two legation books (591–592 according to the current numeration).[16] In the first volume, Daniłowicz published his comprehensive Preface, mentioned numerous times already in this book, about the Crown and Lithuanian Metricas—this was the first ever broader study of their history.

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vol. 3: *1544–1587* (Petersburg, 1848), vol. 4: *1588–1632* (Petersburg, 1851), vol. 5: *1633–1699* (Petersburg, 1853).

13 Ankhimiuk, "Litovskaia Metrika," 126; Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 28–34; Khoroshkevich, "K istorii izdaniia," 76.

14 *Zbiór praw litewskich od roku 1389 do roku 1529. Tudzież rozprawy sejmowe o tychże prawach od roku 1544 do roku 1563* (Poznań, 1841); *Skarbiec diplomatów papieskich, cesarskich, królewskich, książęcych; uchwał narodowych, postanowień różnych władz i urzędów posługujących do krytycznego wyjaśnienia dziejów Litwy, Rusi Litewskiej i ościennych im krajów*, ed. I. Daniłowicz, vol. 1 (Vilnius: w drukarni A. H. Kirkora, 1860); vol. 2 (Vilnius: w drukarni A. H. Kirkora, 1862).

15 *Sbornik kniazia Obolenskogo*, vol. 1: *Kniga posol'skaia Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo, 1506* (Moscow: Lazarevy, 1838), 5–120; Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* Appendices, A-6.

16 *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo*, vol. 1: *Diplomaticheskie snosheniia Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolia Sigismunda Avgusta s 1545 po 1572 g.*, ed. M. Obolenskii and I. Danilovich, vol. 1 (Moscow: Moskovskoe obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh, 1843); *Kniga posol'skaia Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo*, vol. 2: *Diplomaticheskie snosheniia Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolia Stefana Batoriia s 1575 po 1580 g.*, ed. M. Pogodin and I. Dubenskii (Moscow: Moskovskoe obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh, 1843); Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* Appendices, A-5. To read more about the greater contribution made by Daniłowicz than the editors of both books mention, see Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 44.

The Vilnius Group in Saint Petersburg

When the imperial government officially transferred the publication of history sources of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania over to the Archaeographic Commission, the informal cultural activities of Rumiantsev wielded other fruit: His museum served as a gathering place for Vilnius locals who were in Saint Petersburg, searching for Lithuanian history sources, studying them, copying, and publishing the documents. These included history lecturers and students from Vilnius University, which had been closed down by the imperial government. The most distinctive figures among them were Vasilii Anastasevich, Ignacy Żegota Onacewicz (1780(1781)–1845), Simonas Daukantas, and to an extent, Malewski as well. Their prime concern was the publishing of Lithuanian history sources, while the fragments of the scattered Lithuanian Metrica kept in the Imperial Senate's III Department and elsewhere were justifiably viewed as the largest stores of this kind of material. Daukantas served in the Senate's III Department from 1837 as one of the two assistants to *metrykant* Malewski. The imperial administration and later, the archive heads, were in great need of specialists knowledgeable in the history of Poland and Lithuania, and the Polish and Latin languages,[17] which is why educated specialists from Lithuania would have been greatly appreciated to work on the Metricas kept by the Senate. Daukantas and Anastasevich were friends—the Ukrainian from Kiev even learnt Lithuanian.[18] The former would often visit Anastasevich in his apartment at the Rumiantsev museum, where he worked.[19] Merkys has guessed that Daukantas and Anastasevich were introduced by their teacher and friend, Professor Onacewicz, the assistant of the museum's conservator, who also lived in one of the museum's apartments, and who had known the deceased Rumiantsev.[20]

17 Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv*, 273–274, 276.
18 Merkys, *Simonas Daukantas*, 77.
19 Ibid., 78.
20 Ibid., 78; Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 34 (note 44).

Figure 24. *Professor Ignacy Daniłowicz (1787–1843)* (Lithograph by Rudolf Żukowski [1846], Lithuanian Art Museum)

Aside from Daukantas, Onacewicz also helped interested parties from Vilnius to access the Lithuanian Metrica kept in the Senate. He was a very colorful character who made a great contribution to the inclusion of early Lithuanian history sources into scientific circulation. He was accepted to work at the recently established Archaeographic Commission (1837)[21] on a casual basis through Anastasevich. As mentioned, from the middle of 1838 the commission had the right to borrow Lithuanian Metrica books from the Senate for its multivolume publication, *The Historical Acts of Western Russia*. In addition, the commission's assistant Onacewicz was given permission to work in the Library of the Russian General Staff from April,

21 R. Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto ir Teodoro Narbuto epistolinis dialogas, Laiškai Teodorui Narbutui. Epistolinis dialogas* (Vilnius: Mokslo ir Enciklopedijų leidykla, 1996), 25.

1839,[22] where Czacki's collection had ended up after the repression of the 1830–1831 uprising, and that had already been part of the Czartoryski collections in Puławy. Incidentally, only part of the Puławy collections found their way to Saint Petersburg.[23] (In the previous chapter, we mentioned how material from the early Lithuanian state's ruler's archive could have become part of the Czacki collection) In 1839, Onacewicz was urgently dismissed from his position as an assistant to the Archaeographic Commission,[24] and some time before 1843 he was also dismissed from the Rumiantsev museum when valuable documents disappeared.[25] Onacewicz compiled a personal collection of manuscripts and their copies. The collection was recently revealed to contain the 1787 inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica, which was undoubtedly taken to Saint Petersburg with the archive of the Lithuanian grand duke in 1795 and was then kept together with the unprocessed material at the Imperial Public Library, and found its way into Onacewicz's hands via unknown channels.[26]

Onacewicz did help establish links between Daukantas and Teodor Narbutt (1784–1864). From their letters and certain other sources, we learn a great deal about the organization of source research by former Vilnius locals who were in Saint Petersburg, the purpose of this work, and their links.[27] The *metrykant* Malewski and his assistant Daukantas collected material from the Lithuanian Metrica kept in the Senate. They made copies of documents, and did not hide this fact from one another, as Daukantas would sometimes pass on his supervisor's copied documents to clients.[28] In addition, he made document copies at the Imperial Public Library and the Rumiantsev museum. For the Vilnius group, this kind of work was not just a patriotic-cultural activity, but also a source of supplementary earnings for their services. For example, Daukantas helped nobles search for genealogical and other necessary documents.[29] All his work related to the Lithuanian

22 Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 35 (note 44).
23 Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Metryka Litewska," 96.
24 Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 35 (note 44).
25 Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*, 26.
26 Reda Griškaitė presented new information about the fate of Onacewicz's collection of historic manuscripts. Some ended up in private hands, i.e., they were sold and taken out of the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian state, while the main part remained in Russia. See: ibid., 75–79 (especially note 51 and p. 79). For the inventory of 1787, see: Dziarnovich, "Inventar'," 265–266.
27 Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*, 28–29.
28 Ibid., 28–29, 63, 210.
29 Merkys, *Simonas Daukantas*, 74; Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*, 108.

Metrica was kept secret, as he did not want to lose his official position as a result of this activity.[30]

The material compiled by Malewski and Daukantas would usually make its way to Lithuania or Poland, reaching historians and history source publishers. Malewski helped Michał Baliński, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, and Mikołaj Malinowski by providing them with extracts from the Lithuanian Metrica.[31] Malewski knew Daniłowicz. They both worked on the Digest of Laws of the Western Provinces for five years from 1830, which was meant to replace the Third Statute of Lithuania.[32] We can only guess whether he was one of the figures who provided documents from the Lithuanian Metrica for Daniłowicz's publications, but it is very likely.[33]

Daukantas's merits shall be discussed later, but his assistance given to Narbutt shall be mentioned here. It was significant indeed: two volumes of selected sources—a total of around 700 documents—and the Lithuanian armorial of Vijūkas-Kojalavičius.[34] Daukantas loaned these collections to Narbutt, but never had them returned, as the famous Lithuanian historian gradually took possession of the material given to him as a temporary loan. Narbutt boasted about having received these Lithuanian Metrica documents in 1834: "I have almost everything my heart desired—major manuscripts, and folios, and smaller items,"[35] and allowed Malinowski to familiarize himself with them.[36] In 1857, many of the document copies Daukantas had made from the Lithuanian Metrica were given to the Vilnius Archaeology Commission, of which he was a member.[37] One year later, Daukantas himself wrote in a letter to the commission member

30 Merkys, *Simonas Daukantas*, 84; Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*, 32, 63.

31 Ibid., 29, 63, 210.

32 Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 60. Malewski worked on the Lithuanian Metrica in the Senate's III Department from 1829, see Leanid Marakou, *Represavanyia litaratary, navukoutsy, rabotniki asvety, gramadskiia i kul'turnyiia dzeiachy Belarusi. 1794-1991*, vol. 2, accessed May 14, 2019, http://www.marakou.by/by/davedniki/represavanyya-litaratary/tom-ii?id=19631.

33 *Zbiór praw litewskich* and *Skarbiec diplomatów*. Regarding the first publication, it was noted that Daniłowicz prepared fifteen documents based on Lelewel's copies from the Lithuanian Metrica copies in Warsaw, and later edited them according to the originals in Saint Petersburg. See Katilius, "Pervye publikatsii," 55. As such, Malewski, in his capacity as Daniłowicz's assistant in the Senate, is naturally presumed.

34 Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*, 131–132.

35 Ibid., 60.

36 Ibid., 53, 61.

37 Ibid., 116, 133.

Malinowski, that all the document copies he had given to Narbutt were also his gift to the same commission.[38] In this story we learn that Daukantas had sent documents for the famous publication of historical sources released by the Vilnius Archaeology Commission.[39]

Simonas Daukantas (Fig. 25)

Kiaupa, who justifiably highlighted the work done by Daukantas in researching the Lithuanian Metrica and preparing its documents for printing, revealed his merits as the first Lithuanian researcher of the archive, about whom very little was known.[40] At present, we know of around 1,000 pages of document copies from the Lithuanian Metrica that are in four large thematic historic source anthologies. Whilst working at the Senate, the Lithuanian historian provided material not only to Narbutt, but also supplemented Jerzy Plater's collection of privileges issued to Žemaitija, and prepared it for publishing. However, this collection was never released. Daukantas also collected privileges issued to Lithuanian cities—material was compiled from 243 acts intended for 162 cities and towns. Daukantas provided the bishop Motiejus Valančius, who was writing the history of the Žemaitijan diocese, with copies of documents from the Lithuanian Metrica. Baliński, who worked on the Lithuanian volume that was part of the multivolume early history of Poland, received documents about the history of cities through Simonas Stanevičius, while Malinowski received material through Narbutt and from Daukantas as well.[41]

38 Ibid., 126–131.

39 *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh i chastnykh aktov, kasaiushchikhsia istorii Litvy i soedinennykh s neiu vladenii (ot 1387 do 1710 goda) / Zbiór dyplomatów rządowych i aktów prywatnych, posługujących do rozjaśnienia dziejów Litwy i złączonych z nią krajów (od 1387 do 1710 r.)*, ed. M. Krupovich, vol. 1 (Vilnius: tipografia Osipa Zavadzkago, 1858). For more details, see Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*, 129; Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 56–59.

40 Z. Kiaupa, "Lietuvos Metrikos medžiaga Simono Daukanto palikime," *Mokslas ir gyvenimas* 11 (1989): 26–27; Z. Kiaupa, "Trudy Simona Daukantasa po Litovskoi Metrike," in *Lietuvos Metrika: 1988 metų tyrinėjimai*, ed. E. Banionis, Z. Kiaupa (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1992), 130–141; Z. Kiaupa, "Simono Daukanto parengti Lietuvos Metrikos medžiagos rinkiniai," in *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos* 5: *Simonas Daukantas* (1993): 104–117.

41 Griškaitė, *Simono Daukanto*, 53, 61, 81.

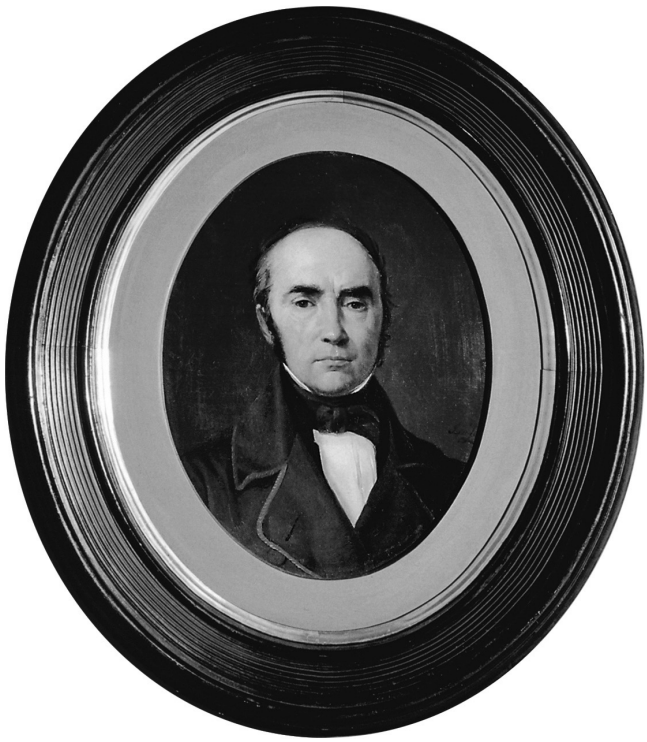


Figure 25. *Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864).* (Painted by Jonas Zenkevičius in 1850, Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore)

Antoni Muchliński, a researcher of Lithuania's Tatars, could also use the material sourced by the Lithuanian historian. In addition to all of this, Daukantas also carefully used material from the Lithuanian Metricas, hiding his sources, in two of his own works: *Būdas senovės lietuvių, kalnėnų ir žemaičių* (The Ways of the Ancient Lithuanian Highlanders and Samogitians, 1844) and *Pasakojimas apie veikalus lietuvių tautos senovėje* (Story of the Deeds of the Lithuanian Nation in Ancient Times, 1850).[42]

The Imperial Archaeographic Commission

Having quashed yet another uprising in Lithuania, Belarus, and Poland (1863–1864), the imperial government proceeded to carefully rewrite, that is, create a Russian history of Lithuania and Belarus, dedicating a great deal

42 Merkys, *Simonas Daukantas*, 106.

of attention and funds to the publication of history sources that revealed the region's Russian nature. The work already done by the abolished Vilnius Archaeology Commission was not suitable for this purpose, as its source publications substantiated the concept of what made Lithuania and Lithuanians different. Unfortunately, we shall have to leave the publishing activities of the Vilnius Archaeographic Commission (1864–1915) aside,[43] which was established for the purposes of Russifying the region, as its staff used documents unrelated to the Lithuanian Metrica for their publications. On the other hand, Vilnius should be mentioned, as it was here that a Lithuanian Metrica book was released, which, we presume, is related to the story of the last days of the early state archive's existence in Lithuania. This small Metrica book ended up in the Manuscripts Department of the Vilnius Public Library (the present-day Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences)[44] in the nineteenth century as document no. 31 in the first volume of the Archaeography Collection (1867). It could have been one of those books that was hidden from the Russian army in Vilnius in 1794 (more details in chapter 8, fig. 26). The publishers did not reveal at all that they were printing a book of the Lithuanian Metrica.[45] Perhaps they did not notice this fact, yet that is unlikely as one of the editors, Pyotr Giltebrandt (1840–1905), a deputy archivist at the Vilnius Central Archive and head of the Manuscripts Department at the Vilnius Public Library later worked with publications of the Lithuanian Metrica for the *Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka*.

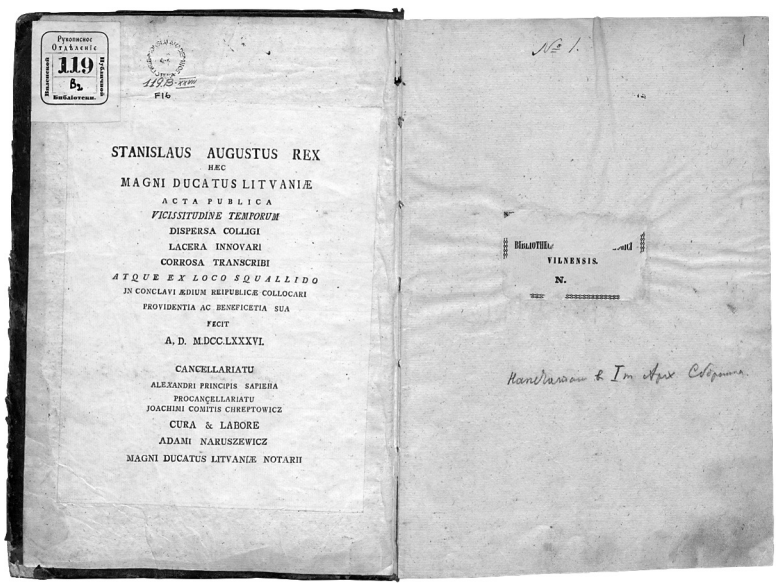
The Russian Imperial Archaeographic Commission continued its activities and would periodically publish Lithuanian Metrica documents. Nikolai Kostomarov (1817–1885) started publishing a new series of history sources dedicated to the history of so-called South West Russia—in effect, of Ukraine and part of Belarus. He publicized 188 documents from

43 R. Mienicki, *Archiwum akt dawnych w Wilnie w okresie od 1795 do 1922 roku* (Warszawa: Archiwy Państwowe, 1923), 72–77; Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 64–147.

44 Dubonis, "Lietuvos Metrikos knyga," 425–428. Kennedy Grimsted thought that this book was given to Prussia in the late eighteenth century, and was destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. She knew about it from a Warsaw copy dating to the second half of the eighteenth century. See Kennedy Grimsted and Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 59 (note 208).

45 *Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia k Severo-Zapadnoi* Rusi, vol. 1, ed. P. Giltebrandt, F. Eleonski, A. Mirotvortsev (Vilnius, 1867), 46–126; comment by the publishers on p. viii in the Preface; note 124 on page 46 about where the book was kept. The series of source publications was released by the board of the Vilnius Education District.

the Lithuanian Metrica that he selected from the archive of the Senate's III Department in 1860.[46] Further history of the publishing and research of the Lithuanian Metrica points to a relative correlation between the Archaeographic Commission's publishing interests and the scientific interests of the Jewish history researcher Professor Sergei Bershadski (1850–1896). In 1878 he received permission to collect material from the Lithuanian Metrica which he publicized in his famous publication of Jewish history sources.[47] Bershadski was probably the first of the Metrica researchers to have explained to the Archaeographic Commission in 1887 to undertake a consistent approach to publishing all of the Metrica books and not just selected documents, and it appears that in 1895 he had already prepared almost three of the first court case records (books 221–223 according to the current numeration, the third book was incomplete), even though officially it was Giltebrandt who was credited with this task.



46 *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 1: *1361–1598* (Petersburg: 1863); vol. 2: *1599–1637* (Petersburg, 1865); Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 67–68; Khoroshkevich, "K istorii izdaniia," p. 76–77; Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 203–206.

47 Ptaszycki, *Opisanie*, 72–73; *Russko-evreiskii arkhiv. Dokumenty i materialy dlia istorii evreev v Rossii*, vol. 1–2: *Dokumenty i regestry k istorii litovskikh evreev* (*1388–1550)*, ed. S. A. Bershadskii (Petersburg, 1882).

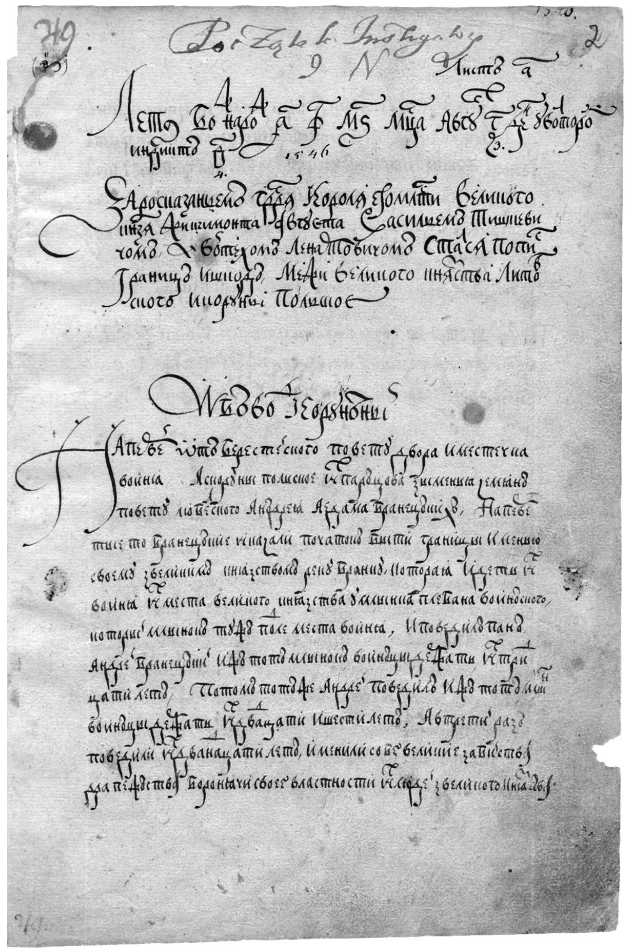


Figure. 26. *The only book of the Lithuanian Metrica kept in Vilnius (and Lithuania): the inside of the first hardcover; the first page; the start of the text*. (Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Manuscripts Department, Col. 16–119)

These Lithuanian Metrica books were released as part of the *Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka* series,[48] while several others came out in three volumes of the series: Ivan Lappo compiled two volumes featuring books 3,

48 *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia imperatorskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 20: *Litovskaia Metrika*, section 1 (Petersburg, 1903); Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii,* 207–209; Khoroshkevich, "K istorii izdaniia," 79.

4, and half of Book 5,[49] according to the current numeration, and Public Affairs books 524, 526, some of books 527 and 528 and most of Book 529.[50] The last *metrykant* from the Senate's III Department Ptaszycki compiled the 1528 census of the Lithuanian army (Book 523) with two appendices, and the army censuses of 1565 and 1567 from the Radziwiłł archive in Nesvyzh.[51] Besides the Imperial Archaeographic Commission's work in publishing history sources, the Imperial Russian Historical Society was also active in this field. Its member Gennady Karpov (1839–1890) prepared the Lithuanian Metrica legation books of Muscovite origins, or 588 and 590 according to the current numeration in collection 389.[52] They were then kept in the Chief Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. The books were actually war trophies from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's early seventeenth-century conflicts with Russia, which were incorporated into the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Six Lithuanian Metrica legation books were published in the Russian Empire from the times of Daniłowicz's and Obolensky's scientific-publishing activities.[53]

Archive of the Ministry of Justice in Moscow

1887 left a clear mark on the history of the Lithuanian Metrica. This was the year when the famous, oft-cited Ptaszycki's *Inventory* was published, with the most comprehensive study of the history of the Metrica at the time, and a thorough summary-catalogue of the Lithuanian and Crown

49 *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia imperatorskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 27: *Litovskaia Metrika*, section 1, part 1: *Knigi zapisei*, vol. 1 (Petersburg, 1910)

50 *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia imperatorskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 30: *Litovskaia Metrika*, section 1-2, part 3: *Knigi publichnykh del*, vol. 1 (Iur′ev, 1914).

51 *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia imperatorskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 33: *Litovskaia Metrika*, section 1, part 3: *Knigi publichnykh del. Perepisi voiska Litovskogo* (Petrograd, 1915).

52 *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 35: *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Pol'sko-Litovskim*, vol. 1: *s 1487 po 1533*, ed. G. F. Karpov (Petersburg, 1882); *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 59: *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Pol'sko-Litovskim*, vol. 2: *s 1533 po 1560*, ed. G. F. Karpov (Petersburg, 1887).

53 The sixth one is M. Dovnar-Zapol′skii, *Litovskie upominki tatarskim ordam. Skarbovaia kniga Metriki Litovskoi 1502–1509 gg.* (Simferopol′: Spiro, 1908). Also, see page 230 in this book.

Metricas kept in the Senate's III Department.[54] Secondly, this was the year when the Metrica was taken to Moscow and was left in the Third Division of the Ministry of Justice archive. Once some of its official status diminished, which had limited its academic potential, it became one of the most widely read collections of historical documents.[55] Upon discovering the undetailed and fragmented registers (summaries, inventories) of documents in the Lithuanian Metrica, and the lack of other scientific information, plans were made to prepare and publicize more comprehensive Metrica descriptions, however this work dragged on. Only when Mitrofan Dovnar-Zapolski (1867–1934) started to work at the archive, starting as a freelance assistant in 1894 and from 1897, an assistant to the Lithuanian Metrica archivist, did the much-needed registration work speed up. He compiled operating indexes for the Books of Inscriptions (from Book 7) and wrote summaries of the documents in books 23–50. The Lithuanian Metrica documents from the first half of the fifteenth century to 1569 he selected and prepared for publishing, together with a large portion of Book of Inscriptions 3 were published in the archive's new release dedicated to the Metrica documents. Of the two planned volumes of documents, the first was released while the second was being compiled but did not end up being published.[56] Despite being at Kiev University to write his academic dissertation, Dovnar-Zapolski made the most of the opportunity he had at the archive to compile and publish his own source publications.[57]

As he argued with the head of the archive, he returned to work at Kiev University where he published numerous appendices from the Lithuanian Metrica documents as part of his dissertation.[58]

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54 Some time earlier, Ptaszycki's predecessor, the *metrikant* Zelwerowicz used his own funds to release a publication with the parchment documents or their registers found in the Lithuanian Metrica; almost half of it consisted of the act of the Union of Lublin (1569). The purpose of this task was not entirely clear: perhaps he was trying to compile an inventory of original documents? See *Litovskaia Metrika. Gosudarstvennyi otdel Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo pri pravitel'stvuiuschem Senate. Gramoty i regesty iz sobraniia "drevnikh aktov," pisannykh na pergamente*, vol. 1, ed. metrikant Litovskoi Metriki L. I. Zel′verovich (Petersburg, 1883).

55 Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv*, 275–276.

56 *Dokumenty Moskovskogo arkhiva ministerstva iustitsii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1897); Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv*, 278–281.

57 Dovnar-Zapol′skii, *Litovskie upominki tatarskim ordam*; idem, *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi komissii* 28 (1897): 1–91; *Akty Litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva*, ed. M. Dovnar-Zapol′skii, vol. 1: *1390–1529* (Moscow, 1899).

58 M. Dovnar-Zapol′skii, *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo pri Iagellonakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1901), Appendices.

In 1912, the new head of the Ministry of Justice archive in Moscow returned to the idea of preparing the archive for official purposes and to print summaries of the documents kept in the Lithuanian Metrica books. Shambinago, who worked with Dovnar-Zapolski and was then appointed as the Lithuanian Metrica archivist, and his assistant Berezhkov prepared document summaries for the Books of Inscriptions 5–12 and the whole first Book of Inscriptions,[59] which is actually an inventory of the original documents kept in the treasury in the late sixteenth century. The intention was to release three volumes of summaries of Metrica Books of Inscriptions up to 1569, however the Bolshevik revolutionary wars and archive reforms in Russia interfered with the publishing of the other two prepared volumes.[60] It should be added here that the aspirations of Lithuania, Poland, and even Soviet Belarus to take back the Lithuanian Metrica limited its accessibility as an archive collection. This should not come as a surprise, as in 1920–1929, the postrevolutionary director of the former Ministry of Justice archive that had undergone expansion and centralization, and became the Central State Archive of Early Acts in 1941, was Professor Liubavskii, an ardent proponent of the "not returning anything to anyone" position.

Documents from the Lithuanian Metrica books that had been copied in the second half of the eighteenth century which ended up in Warsaw were also published. Kazimierz Ferdinand Pułaski (1846–1926)[61] allocated more than half of his publication to sources concerning Poland's relations with the Tatars, while the Warsaw university professor Fiodor Leontovicz (1833–1911) released two volumes of the oldest Lithuanian Metrica documents.[62] The texts of both document publications were not compared to the Lithuanian Metrica originals kept in Saint Petersburg, and later in Moscow. The first publication did not meet with disapproval, however from the very beginning Dovnar-Zapolski, and later other scientists as well, did criticize

59 *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag, khraniashchiakhsia v Moskovskom archive ministerstva iustitsii*, vol. 21 (Moscow, [1915]); Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv*, 344–352.

60 Shokhin, *Moskovskii arkhiv*, 348.

61 *Stosunki Polski z tatarszczyzną od połowy XV wieku*, vol. 1: *Stosunki z Mengli-Girejem, chanem tatarów perekopskich (1469–1515). Akta ị listy*, ed. and with introduction by K. Pułaski (Kraków: G. Gebethner i Spółka, 1881) (research study 1–193, publication 194–449).

62 *Akty Litovskoi Metriki*, ed. F. I. Leontovicz, vol. 1, part 1: *1413–1498* (Warsaw: Tipografiia Varshavskogo uchebnogo okruga, 1896); part 2: *1499–1507* (Warsaw: Tipografiia Varshavskogo uchebnogo okruga, 1897).

Leontovicz's work due to inaccuracies and other shortcomings.[63] A group of famous Russian historians should also be mentioned at this point who, as part of the research of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, did publish original thematic publications of the Lithuanian Metrica, or their major appendices. They include Liubavskii,[64] as well as Dovnar-Zapolski,[65] and legal historians Ioanikhi Malinowski (1868–1932)[66] and Nikolai Maksimeiko (1860–1941).[67] Nor should Antoni Prochaska (1852–1930) be overlooked in the context of the publication of research and sources about Poland's and Lithuania's history; in 1878 he received permission to search for material in the Lithuanian Metrica then kept at the Senate for his work on the Lithuanian grand duke Vytautas.[68]

The overview of the main research and publishing work of the Lithuanian Metrica in Russia in the nineteenth–early twentieth centuries gives a good indication of the incorporation of this complex of historical documents into academic circulation. The initially amateurish, secret search for documents and their private collection (and publishing) gave way to a more purpose-orientated searching and organized series publishing. These types of results can be achieved when the state becomes involved in resource research work through the respective structures, first of all the

63 Khoroshkevich, "K istorii izdaniia," 81–83; Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 229–230.

64 M. K. Liubavskii, *Oblastnoe delenie i mestnoe upravlenie Litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva ko vremeni izdaniia Pervogo Litovskogo statuta* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1892), Appendices; idem, *Litovsko-russkii seim* (Moscow: Imperatorskoe obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete, 1900), Appendices; idem, *Ocherk istorii Litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva do Liublinskoi unii vkliuchitel'no. S prilozheniem teksta khartii, vydannykh Velikomu Kniazhestvu Litovskomu i ego oblastiam*, 2nd edition (Moscow: n.p., 1915).

65 M. Dovnar-Zapol′skii, *Ocherki po organizatsii Zapadno-russkogo krest'ianstva v XVI veke* (Kyiv: Kievskaia 1-aia artel′ pechatnogo dela, 1905), Appendices.

66 I. Malinovskii, "Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii panov-rady Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo," *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Tomskogo Universiteta* 21 (1901); idem, *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii panov-rady Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo. Dobavlenie* (Tomsk: Tipolitografiia Sibirskogo tovarishchestva pechatnogo dela, 1912).

67 N. A. Maksimeiko, *Seimy Litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva do Liublinskoi unii 1569 g.* (Khar′kov: Tipografiia Adol′fa Darre, 1902), Appendices.

68 Ptaszycki, "Opisanie," 71–72; *Materiały archiwalne wyjęte głównie z Metryki Litewskiej od 1348 do 1607 roku*, ed. A. Prochaska (Lwów: Dunin Borkowski, 1890). The content of Prochaska's document publication, judging only by the title, can be misleading as he actually published documents from the Crown Metrica; basing his work on Ptaszycki, he gave his work the official title of the Lithuanian Metrica archive.

Imperial Archaeographic Commission and archives. The greater accessibility of the Lithuanian Metrica for research and document searches from 1887 contributed to the emergence of a famous group of historians who studied the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who recommended a program for the publishing of the Metrica and engaged in specific tasks towards this aim: the oldest Inscriptions and Judicial books and thematic history source publications were released, while their scientific research was soundly backed by material from the old archive of the Lithuanian state. If we were to measure the ratio between research and publishing at the time, we would find that the latter activity certainly predominated. There were basically two main research works released: Daniłowicz's Preface in the publication of the Legation Books, and Ptaszycki's *Inventory*. The structure and general information from the history of the Lithuanian Metrica presented in these works remain significant and are used to this day. The new study by Shambinago and Berezhkov of the Metrica as an archive collection in 1915, presented in the Introduction to their document summary, followed a similar vein.[69] There is no doubt that the compilation of a summary of the oldest books of the Lithuanian Metrica allowed Berezhkov to become more well acquainted with its structure, which encouraged him to engage in more comprehensive research; the information was summarized in a monograph on this topic (see chapter 2).

Before World War I (1914–1918), Russia had undoubtedly become the center of publishing and research of the Lithuanian Metrica, yet as a center, it lacked the respective supervisory and coordinating structures, leading to rather erratic results.

In Soviet Belarus (1920–1929)

During the interwar years, research and publishing of the Lithuanian Metrica under the banner of the Institute of Belarusian Culture (Inbelkult) made a brief stop in Soviet Belarus as part of the so-called Belarusification policy in the republic in the 1920s. At this time, famous researchers and archaeographers from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania gathered in Minsk after the empire's collapse; among those who could be mentioned first of all are Dmitry Dovgiallo (1868–1942), the former chair of the Vilnius Archaeographic Commission, also Picheta, Dovnar-Zapolski and

69 *Opisanie dokumentov*, xi–xxviii.

Anton Iasinski (1864–1933). Dovgiallo is identified as the initiator of the Belarusians' Archive series of publications. In the second volume of the series, he published the whole of Book 16 of the Lithuanian Metrica (according to its current numeration), while in the third he publicized the Minsk city acts, mostly sourced from the Lithuanian Metrica.[70] Iaskinski published a study on the structure of the oldest Lithuanian Metrica book, and prepared an article on the Lithuanian Metrica's genesis.[71] The productive activities were disrupted by the beginning of the central Soviet government's "struggle" with some of the Belarusian intellectuals' anti-Soviet stance, evident from 1929, and nationalist Belarusian policy.[72]

In the Republic of Lithuania

The burgeoning collective of historians in interwar Lithuania understood perfectly well how hard it was, and how hard it would be in the future, to study Lithuania's past without having the main archive on the early state's history at hand—not even as photocopies (see chapter 9). Jablonskis's sixteenth-century Lithuanian inventories are ideal evidence of this:[73] They were only reprints of eight Lithuanian Metrica documents from the aforementioned nineteenth-century publications from Russia, while other documents were taken from the collections recovered from Moscow and other document complexes of local origins. After the Soviet occupation and annexation in 1940, and as Lithuanian history as a discipline started to slowly recover during the "Khrushchev thaw," Professor Jablonskis was one of the first Lithuanian scientists who managed to be able to read the Lithuanian Metrica in Moscow: In 1954–1955, with the permission (mediation?) of the Soviet Lithuanian Council of Ministers, he spent several weeks in January working there. Not long after, he became a member of the Archaeographic Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences,

70 *Belaruski arkhiu*, vol. 2: *XV–XVI* (Minsk: Instytut belaruskai kul′tury, 1928); vol. 3: *XV–XVIII* (Minsk: Instytut belaruskai kul′tury, 1930); Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 250–259.

71 A. N. Iasinski, "Sproba krytychnaga vyvuchennia knigi danin vialikaga kniazia Kazimira," in *Gistoryka–arkheolegichny zbornik* (Minsk: Instytut belaruskai kul′tury, 1928): 153–205; Ulashchik, *Ocherki po arkheografii*, 250.

72 A. Dziarnovich, "Gistaryiagrafiia epokhi NEPu. Zamest pradmovy," *Arche. Pachatok* 7 (2009): 9, 18–19.

73 *Istorijos archyvas*, vol. 1: *XVI a. Lietuvos inventoriai*, ed. K. Jablonskis (Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas, 1934).

which opened the door for him to have better access to the material in the Lithuanian Metrica collection.[74] The results of Professor Jablonskis's archaeographic work with the Lithuanian Metrica were released in an educational publication with documents translated into Lithuanian, or fragments thereof,[75] and a thematic publication of sources on the history of the Lithuanian unprivileged estate.[76]

The idea of reviving Lithuanian Metrica research and publishing in the USSR at the time was raised by the famous Moscow historian, Ana Choroshkevich (1931–2017), and was further explained in 1973 in . . . the Polish science journal *Acta Baltico-Slavica*.[77] The efforts and support of academic Vladimir Pashuto (1918–1983) were instrumental in moving along the question of publishing the Lithuanian Metrica complex of books in Moscow in 1978–1980.[78] This was meant to become the renewal and continuation of the work conducted by Russian Empire's archaeographers'. An agreement was signed in December 1980 between Poland and the USSR Academy of Sciences regarding the joint publishing of the Metrica books (two books each year during the years 1981–1985).[79] An international joint editorial board was formed. The joint initiative of the

74 Anužytė, "Konstantinas Jablonskis," 41. In the notes of volume 1 of *Lietuvos TSR istorijos šaltiniai*, Jablonskis used the older archival record numbers of the Lithuanian Metrica books, which were valid until 1954 when the items in the collection started being numbered. Before then, the books had been numbered according to Ptaszycki's *Inventory*: for example, Jablonski's reference was "CGADA, Lietuvos Metrika II A/6," which meant that the document was among part A of the Lithuanian court record books, in the sixth book—now this is book 225. This archaeographic detail shows that the professor researched the Lithuanian Metrica in Moscow until 1954.

75 *Lietuvos TSR istorijos šaltiniai*, vol. 1. Only the historical source collection titled Feudal serf relations in Lithuania (1950–1953) remained in the manuscript. See V. Merkys, "Akademikas Konstantinas Jablonskis," in *Konstantinas Jablonskis ir istorija*, 14.

76 *Lietuvos valstiečių ir miestelėnų ginčai su dvarų valdytojais. Dokumentų rinkinys*, part 1: *Sixteenth–eighteenth centuries*, ed. K. Jablonskis (Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1959); part 2: *Eighteenth century*, compiled by R. Jasas and J. Orda, prepared for printing R. Jasas, ed. K. Jablonskis (Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1961).

77 Khoroshkevich, "K istorii izdaniia," 91–92.

78 A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Poslednie publikatorskie nachinaniia V. T. Pashuto i ikh sud′ba," in *Vostochnaia Evropa v istoricheskoi retrospective. K 80-letiiu V. T. Pashuto* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul′tury, 1999), 295.

79 V. T. Pashuto, A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Sovmestnaia publikatsiia sovetskikh i pol′skikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 2 (1981): 158–160; M. Bychkova, "Litovskaia Metrika—sovmestnoe izdanie sovetskikh i pol′skikh istorikov," *Istoriia SSSR* 4 (1981): 214–215; T. Wasilewski, "Polsko–radzieckie prace nad wydaniem Metryki Litewskiej," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 4 (1981): 1169–1171.

USSR and Polish Academies of Sciences to publish the Lithuanian Metrica books collapsed due to the economic and political crisis that broke out in the "camp of the mature socialist countries,"[80] yet even then some progress was made in Poland.[81] With the collapse of the USSR, the work on preparing the books for publication that had commenced could only really proceed in Lithuania, which was itself only wrangling free of Soviet occupation. The Institute of History of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, "in accordance with a creative contract," was incorporated in 1985 into a Soviet "union-wide" Lithuanian Metrica program, where resource researchers from Vilnius University's Faculty of History teamed up with the institute's scientists.[82]

At present, the center of Lithuanian Metrica publishing and research is in Vilnius. Judging by all parameters, the results of Lithuania's scientists—in terms of the number of Lithuanian Metrica books published, the number of international scientific conferences organized (five since 1988), the release of the resulting conference papers, and in terms of the number of scientific research studies and discoveries, most of which have been presented in this book—surpass those of Belarusians, Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians. These scientific research and publishing works are being financed by the Lithuanian state.

80 Metrica book 6 that was being compiled in Moscow was released only thirty years later. See *Akty, otnosiashchiaesia k istorii zapadnoi Rossii*, vol. 1: *Sbornik dokumentovv kantseliarii velikogo kniazia litovskogo Aleksandra Iagellonchika (1494–1506 gg.). Shestaia kniga zapisei Litovskoi metriki*, ed. M. E. Bychkova, O. I. Khoruzhenko, A. V. Vinogradov (Moscow: Nestor-Istoriia, 2012). For a peer-review of the publication and A. Khoroshkevich's opinion, see: *Lietuvos Metrikos naujienos* 14 (2012/2013), 10–18.

81 *Metryka Litewska: księga sigillat 1709–1719*, ed. A. Rachuba (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987); *Metryka Litewska: księga wpisów Nr. 131*, ed. A. Rachuba (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2001). Books that were not part of the Lithuanian Metrica were also released within the same series. *Metryka Litewska: rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo wileńskie 1690 r.*, ed. A. Rachuba (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989); *Metryka Litewska: rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo brzeskie litewskie 1667–1690 r.*, ed. A. Rachuba (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2000); *Metryka Litewska: rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo trockie 1690 r.*, ed. H. Lulewicz (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2000). For more details, see Z. Kiaupa, "Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės padūmės publikacijos," *Lietuvos Metrikos naujienos* 4 (2000), 16–17.

82 S. Overaitė, "Svarbiausi 1984–1985 m. Istorijos instituto mokslinės ir mokslinės organizacinės veiklos rezultatai," *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis* (1985), 156.

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